

CURRENT HISTORY

VOL. XXI.

DECEMBER, 1924

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Harris & Ewing, from Wide World Photos

CALVIN COOLIDGE

Elected on Nov. 4, 1924, President of the United States of America for the term 1925-29

The Presidential Election in the United States

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

Professor of Government, Harvard University, Chairman of the Board of Current History Associates

PRESIDENT CALVIN COOLIDGE, who had received his high office as the result of his predecessor's death, was on Nov. 4, 1924, elected to continue his Administration for a full term of four years, commencing on March 4, 1925. With him, Charles G. Dawes was chosen Vice President; and the same day the elections for one-third of the members of the Senate and all the members of the House of Representatives resulted in strengthening Republican Party control of the National Legislature.

The votes in the Electoral College were distributed as follows:

COOLIDGE—382

Arizona	3	Nebraska	8
California	13	Nevada	3
Colorado	6	New Hampshire...	4
Connecticut	7	New Jersey.....	14
Delaware	3	New Mexico.....	3
Idaho	4	New York.....	45
Illinois	29	North Dakota....	5
Indiana	15	Ohio	24
Iowa	13	Oregon	5
Kansas	10	Pennsylvania	33
Kentucky	13	Rhode Island....	5
Maine	6	South Dakota....	5
Maryland	8	Utah	4
Massachusetts	18	Vermont	4
Michigan	15	Washington	7
Minnesota	12	West Virginia....	8
Missouri	18	Wyoming	3
Montana	4		

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Alabama	12	North Carolina....	12
Arkansas	9	Oklahoma	10
Florida	6	South Carolina....	9
Georgia	14	Tennessee	12
Louisiana	10	Texas	20
Mississippi	10	Virginia	12

LA FOLLETTE—13

Wisconsin	13
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The President did not take a very active part in the campaign, but remained quietly for the most part in the White House, passing upon current questions of administration and public service as they came to him. As Chairman of the National Red Cross (Oct. 6) he declared his belief in the ideal of peace, and expressed the belief that "riding society of the very institution of war * * * is going to be done because men and women demand it." It was announced from the White House (Oct. 7) that the President saw no reason for making political speeches in Washington or elsewhere, and he adhered to this policy. To the members of the Third National Radio Conference in Washington (Oct. 8) he declared that what was needed was "an orderly process by which the opportunity for the use of radio communication can be kept open to the highest possible degree." He pointed out, however, the necessity for such control of the radio as would prevent unsuitable and malicious matter from being circulated. A few days later (Oct. 10) the President was one of the immense number of spectators to witness the winning of the tie game for the world championship by the Washington baseball team over the New York team in Washington, and he publicly expressed his views as to the moral value of athletics. He took advantage of the celebration of the employes of the H. J. Heinz Company at Pittsburgh to radio an address (Oct. 11) on the relation between business and the people. He declared that "no business may hold itself above consideration of the public interest and recognition of public authority";

and he praised the work of the Government through the Interstate Commerce Commission and other means for regulating the railroads.

It was announced from the White House (Oct. 14) that the President had not expressed any intention to appoint a special commission to study the best disposition of Muscle Shoals. A few days later (Oct. 18) the President, in reply to a letter from Henry Ford, expressed the hope that "should Congress conclude that it is best to restore this property to private ownership, you will at that time renew your interest in the project." The President expressed (Oct. 15) to Dr. Hugo Eckener, Commander of the Zeppelin ZR-3, his admiration at his skillful conduct of the transatlantic flight of that ship, and expressed his satisfaction that "the peaceful relations between Germany and America have been fully established." In an address at the dedication of a statue to Bishop Francis Asbury he spoke of the relation of religion to government. "On the foundation of a religious civilization which he [Asbury] sought to build, our country has enjoyed greater blessedness of liberty and prosperity than was ever before the lot of man." In a welcome to forty foreign-born citizens (Oct. 16) he paid his respects to the immigrants who had helped to build up the nation, and defended the system of restricted immigration on the ground that "as a nation, our first duty must be to those who are already our inhabitants, whether natives or immigrants." In a letter on the celebration of Navy Day (written Oct. 17), the President praised the navy as "a particularly potent force for the preservation of peace, and the prosecution of many worthy purposes," and dwelt especially on the development of the naval air service. It was announced (Oct. 21) that the President was not ready to act upon the recommendations of the Tariff Commission for a lower duty on sugar.

PRESIDENT'S POLICY SPEECH

President Coolidge's most important and extended address of the month was a radio speech (Oct. 23) describing and

defending the policies of his Administration. It was broadcast from twenty-three radio stations and was very specific, especially on questions of world relations, of finance and the tariff and of the power of the courts. He declared that the foundation of our foreign policy was "peace with independence," and added: "We have abstained from joining the League of Nations mainly for the purpose of avoiding political entanglements in committing ourselves to the assumption of the obligations of others which have been created without our authority, in which we have no direct interest. * * * We propose adherence to the Permanent Court of International Justice, under any desired conditions or limitations which may seem practical." He insisted on economy in the Government as "a necessity of the people of the United States." He announced himself in favor of reducing some income taxes, because "a larger amount of money can be collected from large incomes at a moderate rate than at a high rate." He stood by a protective tariff, and called attention to the value to the farmer of the present duties on agricultural products. He stood out for the power of the Supreme Court to review legislation, if necessary, for the protection of personal liberty.

Next day in a speech at a Golden Rule dinner he felt sure "that the world is moving toward a consummation of its aspiration for the blessings of assured peace under a régime of free institutions." A radio speech on the Community Chest Plan (Oct. 26) was in praise of budgets, intimating that he had personal interests in budgets, inasmuch as "I dream of balance sheets and sinking funds and tax rates and all the rest." Under date of Oct. 27 he wrote a brief letter to a little girl in praise of Theodore Roosevelt because "President Roosevelt's life was devoted to encouraging and promoting the best ideals of American citizenship." He issued a radio address the night before the election. Confining himself to an earnest plea to every eligible voter to exercise



Wide World Photos

CHARLES G. DAWES

Elected on Nov. 4, 1924, Vice President of the United States for the term 1925-29.

his right of suffrage, he introduced no political views in this final address.

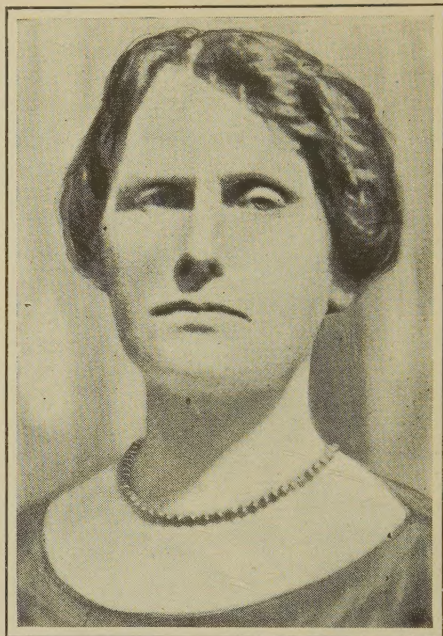
Apparently the country cannot be kept up to a continuous interest in a political campaign of four or five months. After the nominating conventions, it was hard to get the campaign started, and interest flagged in many parts of the country for a period of from two to four weeks before election day. Perhaps this was because some time before election day "the voter was set," and further argument failed to change his intentions. It was at the same time a great campaign for large scale oratory. Of the three candidates for the Presidency, one, President Coolidge, having once stated his principles at about the time of his nomination, took only one or two other occasions to define his policies, and then only at Washington. John W. Davis, the Democratic candidate, made an interesting canvass, speaking in many parts of the country to large audi-

ences, expressing his opinions on many subjects eloquently and unmistakably; he was unsparing but always parliamentarily courteous in criticizing the Administration and the President's silence. Hundreds of thousands of hearers applauded his speeches. Senator La Follette, a practiced public speaker, made his canvass chiefly in the Middle West, where he thought he was strongest, closing with a vigorous campaign in New York. He was listened to by large numbers, yet was least successful of the three in attracting votes. Of the candidates for the Vice Presidency, Governor Bryan, Democrat, made few speeches. Senator Wheeler, associated with La Follette, spoke frequently, yet did not impress the country. The most explosive and exciting speaker was General Dawes, Republican candidate for the Vice Presidency, whose speeches were numerous, picturesque and bold.

CAMPAIGN EXPENSES

The question of campaign expenses came up in a new form through the establishment by the Senate before the adjournment in June of a special committee under Senator Borah, with power to require the statement of sources and amounts of contributions and the methods of expenditure of the funds. Mr. Butler, head of the Republican campaign organization, declared receipts to the amount of about \$3,750,000 (subsequently raised to about \$4,000,000) contributed by a large number of people. He closed the campaign with all debts paid and a small balance in hand. The La Follette managers insisted that, in addition to this amount, the Republicans were raising an immense "slush fund" with which they expected to buy the voters of the Western doubtful States. This charge broke down. Another indictment by La Follette was that a large part of the fund had been raised by a group of leading bankers. The Democrats reported collections and expenditures of about \$750,000. The La Follette men made an effort to raise a large fund by small subscriptions from workingmen, in which they were not

successful. There seemed no doubt that both the Republican and Democratic funds were smaller than four years ago, and there was no evidence to show buying of votes by either party. The Republicans maintained the most extensive and elaborate organization of speakers and literature. In this process of "getting out the vote," the increase of the most innocent forms of expenditure, such as mailing a postal card or circular stating the qualifications of a candidate for the office that he seeks, involves heavy expense in populous States. It is difficult to see any way of avoiding the use of money to the degree in which it has been used in the recent election by any process short of a system similar to that used in most States with the initiative and referendum, by which the desired information is gathered into a pamphlet and sent to all the voters; and that would mean a different kind of election system and eliminating much of the personal appeal by candidate to voter.



Wide World Photos

MRS. NELLIE TAYLOR ROSS
The first woman to be elected Governor of Wyoming



Wide World Photos

MRS. MIRIAM FERGUSON
The first woman to be elected Governor of Texas

ELECTIONEERING METHODS

Another interesting feature of the canvass was the great effort to secure registration of both men and women voters in those numerous and populous States in which prior registration is necessary. The great efforts of all parties to put their voters at least where they could not be denied a vote when they appeared at the polls, because they had omitted to register, were very effective in several large cities, especially New York and Boston. In New York City the registered voters were just about 1,500,000 in a total population of over 6,000,000. The registration system greatly diminishes the chance of fraud either by personating absent voters or by repeating. Throughout the Union the methods of casting, checking and counting the ballot are much improved. So far as reported no State in the Union was transferred from

Continued on Page 436

1914—1924

THE WORLD TRANSFORMED

BY CARLTON J. H. HAYES

Professor of History, Columbia University

THE last ten years of world history constitute a veritable era of storm and stress. It is the era of the greatest war in human annals. For four years the world fights and draws nigh to the abyss of destruction; for six years the world trembles on the verge and haltingly turns back to peaceful reconstruction.

The World War was too cataclysmic not to produce lasting results. Sixteen established States and three new States which the war called into being threw their forces into the conflict, fifteen on one side and four on the other. Eleven other nations declared war but engaged in it less actively. Only nineteen independent States on the earth's surface preserved neutrality and these were relatively small and unimportant.

The Allies put nearly 40,000,000 men under arms and the Central Powers nearly 20,000,000—a total of almost 60,000,000! Of this huge number, at least 10,000,000 were killed and approximately 20,000,000 maimed for life. And these figures do not include civilians who perished from famine, disease and massacre. For four years blood flowed like water and material wealth was poured out similarly. Public indebtedness of the Central Empires increased by \$45,000,000,000 and that of the five allied great powers by \$90,000,000,000. From individuals and corporations vast sums of money were taken in direct and indirect taxes. No human being escaped the necessity of contributing something to the military decision. Simultaneously the world's production of wealth decreased, for the chief industrial and agricultural nations took millions of men away from productive labor and either sent them into

the field as soldiers or put them into munition factories, while contending armies and navies wrought unparalleled havoc and devastation.

What has Europe—and the whole world—gotten from its latest and greatest war? What, in other words, has been purchased by the outlay of so much human life and capital? In answers to these questions may be sought the deeper meanings of the history of the past ten years.

What perhaps has most engaged public attention since the armistice in 1918 has been the effort of statesmen and financiers to grapple with the gravest economic problems. Chaotic condition of most national budgets, depreciation of currency, reparations, tariffs, the isolation and Bolshevik experiments of Russia, the difficulty of transforming war industries into peace industries, have been almost insurmountable obstacles to the resumption of normal production of wealth and normal international trade. But the normal human being, if he is not distracted by war, goes naturally to work; and gradually, though painfully, from peaceful human toil during the last six years has issued some degree of economic betterment throughout the world. War industries

Professor Hayes was born in New York State on May 16, 1882, and is a graduate of Columbia University. There he became a member of the History Department in 1907 and was appointed professor in 1919. He served in the World War as a Captain in the Military Intelligence Division of the General Staff of the United States Army. His published works include: "Sources Relating to the Germanic Invasions," 1909; "British Social Politics," 1913; "Political and Social History of Modern Europe," 1916; "Brief History of the Great War," 1920; "Modern History," (with P. T. Moon), 1923. Professor Hayes is also co-author of the following: "League of Nations, Principle and Practice," 1919; "History and Nature of International Relations," 1922.

have been transformed into peace industries. The Russian Bolsheviks have abandoned their extreme experiments and gained recognition from all Governments except that of the United States. Commercial agreements, at least in Central Europe, are supplanting earlier tariff conflicts. The problem of reparations, long baffling and unsettling, is entering, thanks to the inauguration of the so-called Dawes plan, a new and more hopeful phase. Currencies, though still in several countries a fitting subject for Alice in Wonderland, are becoming more stabilized. Some national budgets now actually balance!

EFFECT OF RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Of far more lasting significance in economic and social experience than reparations and depreciation of currency or other details of the transient financial aftermath of the war are three broad developments of the era—the Russian Revolution, the status of the European peasantry, and the fate of Marxian Socialism.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 was occasioned by the war, but its causes lie far back of our ten-year period and its effects are likely to command the attention and interest of the whole world for many years to come. Despite the more or less active hostility of all other governments, the Soviet Government has already been in power in Russia for a longer term than any political group in any other country. The world has failed to overcome Bolshevik Russia. On the other hand, Bolshevik Russia has failed to overcome the world and has even given signs of an opportunist spirit. The Russian Revolution is left to work itself out as the most significant social and political experiment of our age.

Almost universally throughout Europe there has been a noteworthy increase of peasant landowners. The war put a premium on agricultural products, and the economic chaos succeeding the war proved less disturbing to agriculture than to manufacturing. In many places,

as in Central Europe, depreciated currency enabled farmers to pay off mortgages on their holdings, and frequently, as in England, heavy taxation induced many great landlords to sell their estates on fairly easy terms to small farmers. Russian landlordism was destroyed by revolution; and in Rumania and many of the new States which were born of the war, large landed estates were broken up by legislation and distributed among the numerous and needy tenant-peasants. This process has already proceeded far enough to indicate that European society will rest during the next generation upon a solid foundation of peasant proprietorship of land and that the newly emancipated peasants, by means of cooperative organization and cooperative enterprise, will make important contributions to the stability and conservatism of European civilization.

There has been a new vogue of hopes and fears about socialism. Socialists have dominated Russia for seven years. They played prominent rôles in the revolutionary movements in Germany, Austria and Hungary, in 1918. They have been much in evidence in Italy, in France and in Great Britain. Nevertheless, pre-war Marxian Socialism is now cleft asunder. One faction, represented in most countries by the "regular" Socialist parties, has learned to cooperate with middle-class Governments; it has condemned Bolshevik "excesses" and revived the "Second International." The other faction, represented by the Russian Bolsheviks and minority groups (the "Communists") in other countries, has assailed political democracy and extolled the dictatorship of the proletariat; it has denounced the "Second International" and inaugurated at Moscow in 1919 a world organization of its own, styled the "Third" or "Communist International." Both groups have departed widely from traditional Marxism; one is so fully committed to force and violence as to nullify Marx's political doctrine; the other is so completely given to compromise as to postpone indefinitely the realization of Marx's economic program.

Socialism, however, in losing its own soul, bids fair to gain the whole world. Governments during and since the war have been steadily enlarging their scope and functions and constantly restricting personal liberties. Bureaucracy now flourishes as never before in the world's history, and in Europe economic individualism and *laissez-faire* are mere memories. It is not doctrinaire Marxian Socialists who have brought this to pass, but democratic legislators and democratic executives. Individualism declines before the new socialism, and political democracy may be but a prelude to industrial democracy.

SELF DETERMINATION

The war and the consequent peace treaties have consecrated the principle of national self-determination and written it into public law. The political map of Europe has been redrawn on national lines. Four great non-nationalist States have been dismembered—Austria-Hungary, Turkey, Russia and Germany—and one small State (Montenegro) has disappeared. From the fragments have been built seven newly independent States—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hedjaz, Finland, Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania—while, through annexations and consolidations, the national unification has been virtually completed of Italy, of Yugoslavia (Serbia), of Rumania and of Greece; and the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France and of the Danish-speaking portion of Schleswig to Denmark has redressed long-standing national grievances. Germany, deprived of Danes, French and Poles, has now become for the first time in history genuinely a national State. Similarly, Russia has become a homogeneous state of Russians, federated with national States of Ukrainians, Georgians, &c.; Hungary, a national State centring in Asia Minor rather than in Europe, and Austria, a minor but homogeneous Teutonic colony on the Danube. If German Austria were permitted to unite formally with Ger-

many, all Eastern and Central Europe, except Switzerland, would be completely reorganized on a national basis.

Nationalism has not been recognized and guaranteed on the Continent of Europe without affecting profoundly the whole world. It has evoked louder popular demands for national self-determination throughout the British Empire. It has actuated the Turks to compel a revised settlement in the Near East. It has penetrated into China, Persia and Siam, and has moved Mohammedans and Buddhists as well as Christians, yellow and black races as well as white men. It has troubled the Japanese in Korea and to some extent the Americans in the Caribbean and in the Philippines. In Ireland it has inspired the Sinn Fein movement, the Dublin rebellion of 1916, the ensuing guerrilla warfare between the Irish and the English, and the final establishment in 1922 of the Irish Free State. It has obliged the British, moreover, to proclaim the independence of Egypt, to grant autonomy to the Arab States in Western Asia and to accord a larger measure of self-government to India. It has disturbed the relations between Flemings and Walloons in Belgium. It has led Denmark to recognize the sovereign independence of Iceland, which is now united with Denmark only by allegiance to a joint king. In the United States it has given special significance to the Ku Klux Klan, to nationalistic stirrings among negroes, and to legal restriction of immigration.

THE NEW IMPERIALISM

Nationalism has certainly been characteristic of the new era, but its obvious and ubiquitous effects must not blind our eyes to the zest and zeal with which simultaneously the game of imperialism has been played. It is true that while the number of small independent national States in the world has been augmented, the number of imperialist great powers has been reduced. Of the eight recognized great powers in 1914, Austria-Hungary has ceased to exist, and

Germany and Russia, at least temporarily, have been outclassed. Russia has become a pariah among the nations, thanks to her acceptance of Bolshevism; and Germany has lost her navy, her colonies, her merchant marine and valuable natural resources, and has declined from a position as the foremost military State in the world to virtual disarmament and impotence. But while Germany, Russia and Austria-Hungary have thus been turned from imperialist paths, the remaining five victorious great powers have paved wide and deep the highways of their own imperialism.

Great Britain within the past ten years has humbled Germany, her latest rival, as completely as in earlier centuries she overcame Spaniards, Dutch and French. To her already huge overseas empire have now been added, in one form or another, some of the most promising provinces of the old Ottoman Empire and the bulk of the German colonies. The richest regions of Asia and of Africa are hers.

France has become the foremost military State on the Continent of Europe. She has been exalted as Germany has been abased. She enjoys a paramount influence alike in the military and in the economic policies of Poland, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia; most of the smaller States of Europe are her satellites. Outside of Europe, France has confirmed her position as a colonial and imperialist power, second in importance only to Great Britain.

Italy not only has completed her national unification but has assumed a leading imperialist rôle in the Adriatic and in the Eastern Mediterranean. If France now hopes to emulate the industrial greatness of Germany, Italy gives signs of following in the imperialist footsteps of Austria-Hungary.

Japan has obtained the former German islands in the Pacific north of the equator. Though she has been prevailed upon to restore Kiao-Chau to China and to withdraw her armies from Siberia, she has asserted and pretty ef-

fectually maintained a kind of Monroe Doctrine for China.

The United States gained nothing directly from the war. Indirectly, however, the era has marked her coming of age as a world power. At the Paris Conference of 1919 she gained from Europe a formal recognition of the Monroe Doctrine and at the Washington Conference of 1922 she won recognition of her special interests in the Pacific and Far East and of her right to possess a navy as large as that of any other power. Indirectly, too, the economic chaos in Europe resulting from the war enabled New York to become the financial capital of the world and allowed American capitalists to expand their industry and increasingly to seek overseas trade and overseas investments. It was during this period that the United States purchased the Danish West Indies, interfered in the internal affairs of Mexico and established protectorates over Haiti, Santo Domingo and Nicaragua.

The reduction of the number of imperialist great powers does not signify any marked lessening of the force or dangerous nature of modern economic imperialism. So long, for example, as the chief rivalries of British and French business men were with business men of Germany, an entente could be fashioned between France and Great Britain and British and French soldiers could fight their common battles against Teutonic armies, but when that particular crisis was past and Germany ceased to be a serious economic competitor of any nation, then imperialist rivalry took another turn, late brothers-in-arms fell out and a latent hostility between the Governments of France and Great Britain became manifest. Similarly latent and manifest is the imperialist rivalry in the Mediterranean between Italy and France. Nor have the jealousies and rivalries of Japanese and Americans been extinguished in the new era.

Economic imperialism has not been ended or radically mended and herein, together with the emotional, rampant

nationalism which now flourishes in all States, large and small, lurks the gravest menace to the future peace and health of the world.

MORE POLITICAL DEMOCRACY . . .

Events of the last ten years have proved as advantageous to republicanism throughout the world as they have been disastrous to monarchy. In 1914 six of the eight great powers were monarchical; in 1924 only three remain monarchical, and these three—Great Britain, Italy and Japan—have reconsecrated their political institutions by military victory. The three most famous European dynasties—Hapsburg, Hohenzollern and Romanov—have ceased to reign. Republics have replaced monarchies in Russia, Germany and Austria, and in the States newly created in Central and Eastern Europe republican government uniformly prevails. Not only are the American continents almost wholly republican, but Europe is now predominantly so, and even in Asia the vast Chinese Empire has been nominally republican since 1910, while in 1923 the empire of the Ottoman Sultans was transformed into the National Republic of Turkey. Divine right, absolute monarchy, is at last extinct, except possibly in a veiled form in Japan.

The last ten years have witnessed not only a general strengthening of republicanism at the expense of monarchy, but also, what is far more important, an almost universal adherence to the principles of political democracy. That the war was "a crusade for democracy" seems to be proved by the outcome. Thoroughly democratic Constitutions have been evoked in the revolutionized Central Empires and in the newly established or newly unified States of Eastern Europe—in Germany (1919), Austria (1920), Czechoslovakia (1920), Estonia (1920), Poland (1921), Yugoslavia (1921), Latvia (1922), Lithuania (1922), Rumania (1923), Turkey (1924). Democratic electoral reforms, moreover, have been accomplished in Great Britain (1918), France (1919) and Italy (1919). Sweden, Denmark

and Iceland have removed all property qualifications for the exercise of the franchise; Belgium has abolished plural voting; Holland has adopted universal adult suffrage and proportional representation.

In most of the newer Constitutions and electoral reforms woman suffrage has been embodied. Full suffrage has been granted to women on the same basis as to men in Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, the Baltic States, Belgium, the Netherlands and the Irish Free State. In Great Britain the Parliamentary franchise has been extended to most women since 1918, and in the United States woman suffrage has been general since the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920.

In some instances, within the last few years, self-constituted dictatorships have interfered with, or supplanted, the normal operation of constitutional government and political democracy. Such is the case in Russia, where a relatively small number of Bolsheviki have imposed their administration and policies on the masses. Such, too, is the case in Hungary, where first a group of Socialists seized the Government by force, and secondly, a military and reactionary clique under Admiral Horthy established themselves in authority. Nationalist and militarist movements, coupled with fears of socialism, have likewise given rise to Fascismo and put Mussolini in power in Italy. There have been unsuccessful attempts to execute military coups d'état in Germany and Portugal, and there have been successful attempts in Turkey, Bulgaria and Spain. It is now fully apparent that the ideal of political democracy and orderly government is imperiled in Europe not more by a Bolshevik dictatorship of the proletariat than by middle-class dictatorships of army officers and ultra-patriots. How much of this peril is merely episodic to the unsettling effects of the World War, time alone can tell.

When, years from now, historians are pointing out the significance of the decade from 1914 to 1924, it is quite pos-

sible that from their detached and objective position they will describe the League of Nations as the most important achievement of our era. They may suggest that the advance of national self-determination, democracy and republicanism, on which we of our own day pride ourselves, was but the culmination of a process which had been going on ever since the American and French Revolutions of the eighteenth century, and which was merely speeded up by the storm and stress of the great war of 1914. They may also suggest that the economic and social difficulties which worry us now as ugly novelties were only natural results of a gradual industrial development that was hurried a bit by the exigencies of the same great war. They may then proceed to an exposition something as follows: that one of the basic difficulties with the world prior to 1914 was the existence of fifty-odd sovereign States on the face of the earth, jealous and fearful of one another, conducting each its own affairs in defiance or ignorance of its neighbors' interests, responsible in the last analysis neither to God nor to man; that in the old scheme of things might was right and "national honor" covered a multitude of sins; that an American historian and prophet (who happened for some years to be President of the United States) at a moment when the whole world was tired of international anarchy gave to a very old dream the form and substance of the Covenant of the League of Nations; that, despite the doubts of some European statesmen, the sneers of certain elderly diplomats, and the fulminations of the United States Senate, the first Assembly of the League met in

neutral Geneva in September, 1920; that, at first suspected or despised, the League gradually gained strength, first by establishing some international responsibilities for national imperialism, secondly, by founding a permanent and usable court of international justice; thirdly, by halting the aggression of a great power against a little power, and always by accustoming the nations of the world to work together through numerous commissions attached to the busy Secretariat of the League; that within five years of its inauguration the League of Nations was a "going concern," with Secretariat, Council, Assembly and Court fully functioning, with fifty-four nation-members, and with only the United States, Soviet Russia and Germany outside—and Germany ready to enter; that international education and international conscience were so developed as to admit of the drafting and signing in October, 1924, of a protocol by which the members of the League of Nations pledged themselves to outlaw aggressive war and to submit all disputes to arbitration. Having marshaled and developed all these points, our imagined historians may be expected to comment on the impressive fact that it was not antiquity or the Middle Ages or the age of benevolent despotism or the Victorian age which witnessed the accomplishment of such a radical and revolutionary change in international relations, but the brief era of storm and stress between 1914 and 1924. And they may possibly be pardoned for their futurist perplexity as to why the United States took no part in the successful operation of the League of Nations.



1914—1924

THE UNITED STATES

A Retrospect

By ARTHUR B. DARLING

Professor of History, Yale University

IN the Summer of 1914 the attention of the American people was sharply arrested by the outbreak of war in Europe. Ominous rumblings for several years had disturbed some, but most had thought only of their engrossing task of material development and the fulfillment of a program of social and economic reform. Few foresaw the consequences for America of a European war. But the news bulletins of August, 1914, held crowds of Americans fixed in bewilderment and misgiving. As days passed into months, they saw the war sweep away national boundaries, overthrow Governments, and finally force their own country to declare war on Germany. When the American people at last were roused, they entered the struggle with remarkable unity. They cooperated willingly with their allies to bring Germany down in defeat. But then, with increasing remonstrance, they watched their President participate in the Peace Conference and endeavor to commit them to acceptance of a share in the responsibility for the peace of Europe. They would return to their domestic concerns and leave the Europeans to handle their own problems. But along with a heightened national feeling, a more intense jealousy for their own welfare, they found that they had developed great interest in the affairs of Europe. Although they have held aloof from official participation since the Peace Conference, they continue to follow closely the progress of events abroad and study the policies of European statesmen as never before. They seem to appreciate that, in spite of their desire to preserve the tradition

of American isolation, they now have interests extending around the world.

Domestic Affairs—When the European war broke out, Woodrow Wilson had been in the White House more than a year. Owing to a factional quarrel in the Republican Party, a Democratic President had obtained a majority of the Electoral College in 1912, although he had less than half the popular vote. A Democrat was President, the second since the Civil War, but Wilson was not of the old Southern school. He came to the Presidency from the Governorship of New Jersey with a notable record as a reformer. He at once took from Roosevelt and the Progressives the liberal program which they had set for themselves.

The Federal Reserve—The concentration of wealth in the control of a few New York financiers, which had been revealed by a Congressional inquiry in 1912, gave point to the demands of the West that the nation's financial system must be decentralized and the hold of "Wall Street" broken. The establishment of the Federal Reserve System was therefore among the many aims of Wilson's Administration. The Republican Administration of Taft had studied the problem, but had planned to place control in one central body. The Democratic measure which became law divided the United States into areas and for each provided a regional institution which should determine its financial policy. Whereas under the old banking law the flow of the currency had been largely deter-

mined by private banking institutions having discretion as to circulation of bank notes and creation of checking accounts, under the Federal Reserve law power to inflate or deflate the currency rested in the regional Reserve banks. As governmental institutions, they controlled the acceptance of commercial paper upon which to secure the national currency of Federal Reserve notes. The Federal Reserve law expressed the cardinal principle of reform. The power of the few should be curtailed by the Government for the advantage of the many. Wilson's Administration sought to apply the same principle to the problem of tariffs.

The Tariff—In the United States, from its beginning, controversies over tariffs have ever been contests between a desire for free trade and a demand for protection. The first tariff enacted carried provisions for the protection of American industry. Rather, the issue has been between a demand for high tariffs to insure absolute protection for special manufacturing interests and a demand for lower tariffs to provide both justifiable protection and an adequate revenue. The Payne-Aldrich tariff in Taft's Administration, as a Republican measure, stood upon the former ground but gave promise that, through a commission of experts, eccentric or unnecessary restrictions would be revealed and subjected to legislative action. President Taft defended this tariff even at the risk of his popularity in the Progressive wing of the Republican Party and vetoed the Underwood bills which Congress, under Democratic control, advanced to replace the Payne-Aldrich act. With the advent of Wilson, Underwood's measures became law. The new tariff contained substantial reductions of duties and, as the Sixteenth Amendment had been ratified by the States, a provision for a tax on incomes graduated so that those who possessed greater wealth bore a larger burden. Underwood's declared purpose was to design a measure primarily to produce revenue without injury to legitimate in-

dustry. According to liberal principle, the special interests of the manufacturers should give way to the public interest, in this case the interest of the consumers, and persons favored with greater wealth should pay to the public treasury a larger portion of their incomes.

The Income Tax—The Income Tax law marked a notable increase of governmental intrusion into the affairs of individual citizens. The old concept that a Government should interfere as little as possible with the affairs of citizens was falling before the newer principle that the public interest must be served before individual or class. Under the aegis of this sovereign interest, the Federal Government has moved far into new reaches of authority.

Administrative Boards—The Interstate Commerce Commission, set up in 1887 to regulate the railroads of the United States, received additional powers in succeeding acts of Congress during the Administrations of Roosevelt and Taft. Under Wilson even wider jurisdiction was given to this administrative board and beside it were established the Federal Trade Commission with similar powers of investigating and regulating corporations, the Shipping Board with jurisdiction over carriers by water and the Federal Reserve Board over banks. These new governmental institutions, although established within the executive branch of the Government, have from their nature functions that cannot be restricted to the category of executive functions. They must act within the limits of the jurisdiction bestowed upon them by Congress, but within that sphere they have powers that are in a sense both judicial and legislative. When giving decisions following an investigation they exercise a judicial function. When issuing orders prior to an act of a corporation, common carrier or bank they exercise a legislative function. As they have developed in practice, they have become instruments less to punish for

violation of the law and more to discover a way in which a conflict of interests may be dissolved. We must observe that the basis for such solutions by these Federal boards is the general public interest at stake, and yet we cannot overlook the fact also that in the process of this development the Federal authority has encroached upon individual, corporate, class and sometimes State interests.

The Federal authority has been able rather easily to segregate individual and corporate and even State interests from the public interest, but the interests of a class in American society have proven more intricate. The laboring class, for example, forms so large a part of the public that its interests merge with the public interest and yet they by no means constitute the whole of the public interest. In fact, some so-called rights of labor run counter to the interests of other classes in American society. And the same is true of the farming class. The task of the Federal authority to define, maintain and serve the public interest has become increasingly difficult as organized labor has brought pressure to bear and as the farmers became more and more unified in their demands.

Federal Mediation in Strikes—

Consistently applying the new principle that the welfare of the public should take precedence over individual or class, Congress passed the Newlands act of 1913, to establish a Federal Board of Mediation between interstate railroads and their employes. The board was empowered to receive appeals from either party or to offer its service, but it was not given power to compel submission of any controversy or to force acceptance of its decisions. But, although by October, 1916, it had succeeded in adjusting over sixty controversies, it had not been able to avert growing discontent among railroad laborers, least of all among other laboring groups. Strikes, boycotts, rioting and violence in the mining regions of Colorado, West Virginia and Arkansas and elsewhere in munitions factories and other industries

became more and more prevalent. Labor demanded an eight-hour day, increased pay, return of discharged employes and, above all, recognition of the unions. Part of this unrest, perhaps, was the result of German intrigue and vicious interference by alien radicals and members of the I. W. W. (Industrial Workers of the World), but in the main the discontent came from a growing consciousness among laborers that they had great strength if they would act collectively. Wherever labor's demands were met, the strikers, it is fair to say, went back to work. Capital held out as long as it could against recognizing the right of laboring men to organize unions. Both disregarded the interest of the public in having the operation of mines and factories continue while a settlement was being obtained by mediation.

Class Legislation—As a liberal, President Wilson manifested leanings toward labor in opposition to capital. With his approval Congress enacted legislation to meet the labor problem. Although ostensibly framed for the public welfare, the Clayton act of 1914 and the Adamson act of 1916 may be considered as legislation intended to benefit a class rather than the general public.

The Clayton act increased the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate railroads and other systems of communication, and it gave to the Federal Trade Commission jurisdiction over corporations engaged in other commercial enterprises. So far the Clayton act was supplementary to earlier legislation for the public welfare. But it went on to declare that labor could not be considered as a commodity used, like raw materials, in processes of production. It declared that labor organizations could not be prosecuted as violating anti-trust laws. And it purported to forbid the issue of injunctions to interfere with strikes unless irreparable injury to property would result when the laborers ceased work. In short, it seemed to legalize labor unions, strikes, picketing and other forms of collective action that stopped short of violence. Labor

leaders hailed it as the Magna Carta of the laboring class. Close analysis of the Clayton act, however, revealed that whatever had been the intention, the clause on injunctions, picketing and strikes legalized only those practices that were already legal. Decisions of the Supreme Court in 1920 and 1921 returned to the interpretation of the law on injunctions as it existed before the Clayton act.

The Adamson act was clearly legislation in benefit of a class. The railroad brotherhoods, grown skeptical as to the effectiveness of labor legislation because judicial interpretation seemed to lean toward the side of capital, would have preferred in 1916 to fight out the wage issue with their employers. For that reason, evidently, they refused to employ the Board of Arbitration established by the Newlands act, and pressed their strike threat. Under that pressure Wilson urged Congress to enact a measure which would meet the demands of the brotherhoods. Congress passed the Adamson act, extending to railroad laborers the eight-hour day in principle and obliging the companies to increase their expenditures for wages. On March 19, 1917, the Supreme Court held that the Adamson act was constitutional. Chief Justice White declared that Congress not only had power to regulate commerce but had power to establish a standard of work, that is to say, to limit hours of labor. Moreover, since "public interest begets a public right of regulation," Congress had power in an emergency to invade the realm of private right and to fix a scale of wages. In short, the railroads, engaged in the public service as common carriers, could not exercise their right to negotiate terms with their employees if Congress considered that the public interest required an eight-hour standard and increased pay for railroad labor.

The Supreme Court Decision

—Justice White's decision also made the Adamson law obligatory upon railroad labor. It threw serious question upon the right of railroad men to leave

their jobs in a body, for they, too, were serving the public interest by operating common carriers. But, nevertheless, we may consider the Adamson law primarily as class legislation. The Supreme Court pointed out that labor's freedom also was curtailed, but Congress had given in to the demands of organized labor after it had refused to use the Federal Board of Arbitration. The actions of the brotherhoods in the Spring of 1917, before the court handed down its decision, further convinced many that organized labor did not choose to serve the public interest.

Actions of the Brotherhoods—

On the eve of the declaration of war against Germany, the brotherhoods threatened to strike if the Adamson law was not soon put into effect. They were persuaded, after the decision of the court became known, to continue at work. But although they saw the railroad owners turn the roads over to the Railroad War Board in April, 1917, to be operated without reference to ownership, railroad laborers disregarded the fact that the country was at war and demanded in the Fall of 1917 a wage increase of 40 per cent. to meet increased costs of living. On Dec. 26, 1917, President Wilson exercised the power given him by Congress and placed the railroads under his Secretary of the Treasury to operate them as one national system. Then, under the authority of the President's war power, the requests of the railroad men for higher wages were granted. Such legislative and Executive actions indeed served the public interest, but by satisfying a class which threatened to injure the public interest if its demands were not met.

Agricultural Unrest—Unrest in agricultural districts drew the attention of Congress during Wilson's first Administration. The Smith-Lever act of 1914 authorized the Department of Agriculture to distribute Federal funds among those States which would contribute a certain amount to agricultural education. These funds were to main-

tain county agents who should attend to the concerns of farmers and spread knowledge of scientific agriculture. In 1916 Congress enacted a good roads law which also provided for the expenditure of Federal funds in those States which would contribute like amounts for highways. Thus, by the method of grants-in-aid, the Federal Government assumed virtual control over matters once reserved to State jurisdiction, and we should also note in passing that national funds, collected from the taxpayers over the whole country, were directed to the betterment of the farming class in particular areas.

The Farm Loan Board—Besides such measures the Federal Government established the Federal Farm Loan Board in 1916, hoping to solve the problem of rural credit. The board was to have direction of Federal land banks set up in twelve districts of the United States. Farmers lacked facilities which other classes possessed for obtaining loans and had to pay higher rates of interest. The purpose of the new system, therefore, was to make available from Federal resources a supply of credit which might be used by farmers cooperating in "farm loan associations." But the American farmer had not progressed as far as the American laborer in the use of collective action. The farmer was learning to cooperate in the use of grain elevators and distributing agencies, but he was still too individualistic to join in cooperative borrowing. The new law, however, made provision for individual loans negotiated through special agencies, until the advantage of "cooperative credit" should be realized in rural communities. That such a realization would ever occur was doubtful, for the American farmer had become accustomed to obtain necessary financing from domestic and foreign mortgage and insurance companies. A large part of the credit which he desired was to tide him over the difficulties of seasonal production, and he was quite often reluctant to bind himself to an obligation to the Federal Farm Loan Bank, as

it could not be paid off in less than five years. But the war changed conditions.

The Effect of the War—American farmers rapidly expanded production. Their increased investment was protected somewhat by rising prices, but interest rates rose likewise and the supply of credit which had been extended from abroad, chiefly from Great Britain, declined sharply. Further, American investors who had purchased farm mortgages now invested in Liberty loans and commercial stocks and bonds which were soaring with the fever of wartime activity. It was natural for the farmer in this situation to turn to the farm loan banks, toward which he had recently been indifferent. But here also he now met difficulty. Farm loan bonds were not selling easily. Congress was forced to come to the rescue of the Farm Loan Board in 1918. It was authorized to purchase \$100,000,000 of farm loan bonds annually for two years. In other words, the Federal Government itself was obliged to aid a particular class in American society. Under the stress of war, however, few cared to say that Federal aid for the production of food was not a matter of public interest. How effective such Federal assistance proved remains for consideration among the problems left by the World War.

Prohibition—Before the outbreak of war, Wilson's Administration was occupied with still other measures for reform. Prohibition had been an issue in the United States for more than a hundred years. State after State in the South and the West had passed laws to stop the liquor traffic, and finally the Webb-Kenyon act of 1913 made shipment of liquor into a State which had dry laws punishable by Federal authority. In 1914 the dry forces won a majority in the House of Representatives and proposed a constitutional amendment to prohibit the manufacture, sale and transportation of intoxicating liquors. The measure failed to secure the

necessary two-thirds, but in the Congressional elections of 1916 sufficient supporters were elected to insure its adoption in the Fall of 1917. By January, 1919, the thirty-sixth State had ratified the Eighteenth Amendment, which thus became part of the fundamental law of the United States. In October, 1919, Congress passed over Wilson's veto the Volstead act for Federal enforcement of prohibition. Opponents asserted that the amendment and the enforcement act deprived individuals of their personal liberty and usurped jurisdiction proper only in State Governments. It is clear, however, that the new order was established in duly constituted manner by the will of the sovereign people.

Child Labor—Federal authority has encroached upon the police power of the States in another field of public welfare. Many States had long enforced restrictions upon hours of labor for women and children to safeguard the health of the race. But other States, especially in the South, had no such regulatory laws. The reformers took their cause to Congress and in September, 1916, secured a child labor act based upon the power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce. When in 1918 the Supreme Court declared this act unconstitutional because the power to regulate commerce does not include a power to regulate the process of manufacture, the advocates of reform obtained a new act, this time employing the taxing power of the Federal Government. Again the Supreme Court denied the validity of the act, and at the present moment a constitutional amendment is before the States. If it is ratified, another large part of original State authority will have been taken over by the Federal Government. The docket of cases before Federal courts already crowded will be still further congested. On the other hand, this centralization of government will bring uniformity in one more field of the public interest.

The World War came upon the American people when they were making great changes in their economic and

social organization: A new national banking system decentralizing authority, a new tariff seeking to eliminate traditional favors to special interests, a new development in government by administrative boards assigned to particular fields of public concern, legislative acts couched in terms of the public interest, but intended to further the interests of the laboring man and the farmer, laws and amendments to the Constitution directed against the liquor traffic and child labor to advance public morality and safeguard the future of the American people. Throughout the period Federal authority encroached upon State authority and the public interest advanced at the expense of special privilege. Certain class interests, however, were carried along with the public interest and at times seemed to usurp its place in the minds of American legislators. Then the United States was drawn into the war.

The War—The quarrel of 1914 between Austria and Serbia rapidly developed into a general European conflict. As the contest between the British fleet and the submarines of Germany for control of the sea lanes to the British Islands and the Continent grew sharper in the next twelve months, neutral commerce suffered. The British Government watched closely the American trade with Germany and neutral countries contiguous to Germany and extended its interpretation of contraband until even cargoes of American grain bound for Holland which might possibly be transported across the border to feed the German people were confiscated. American protests were met with promises that all proper claims for damage to neutral commerce would be satisfied. Germany's method of patrolling the seas with her submarines created an entirely different situation. To be effective, submarines had to depend upon the surprise attack, and experience soon proved that it could not be used without sinking neutral vessels and jeopardizing the lives of noncombatants.

American Neutrality—In spite of the fact that the belligerents were interfering with its commerce, the United States strove to remain neutral. Many Americans, especially those living in the Mississippi valley, were not sensitive to interference with neutral commerce. Others sympathized with Germany. Others held tenaciously to the ideal of pacifism in spite of pressing circumstances. President Wilson, whose Secretary of State had successfully negotiated some thirty treaties in which the contracting powers agreed in case of misunderstanding to refrain from military preparation and resort first to commissions of inquiry, hoped that the American Government could mediate between the warring nations and bring peace back to the world. He would not have the United States lose that opportunity by making warlike demonstration. He refused until late in 1915 to consider that preparedness for possible war was necessary. But it became impossible for the United States to maintain a neutral attitude.

The Contest for Munitions—

The war affected the internal affairs of the United States. Revenues which were expected from the operation of the Underwood tariff were sharply reduced by the decline of importation from Europe; the American citizen found that he must pay internal revenue taxes. Then he saw his country become a veritable battlefield of propaganda. Germany and the Allies contested for American sympathies. They fought for American munitions. The Allies gained the advantage, for the British fleet ruled the high seas, and American munitions went to the Allies. Germany strove desperately to buy up munitions factories and their output. Then failing to check the flow of war materials to the Allies in that way, German agents tried to turn American opinion against the sale of munitions to any belligerent. When that effort failed also, they tried to foment strikes and to destroy factories and transportation facilities by dynamite. But their attempt to neutralize

America by force effectively aroused the American people to respond to the call to arms when at last their President became convinced that they could do no other.

The Lusitania—The significance of Germany's march into Belgium in August, 1914, had been slow to penetrate the American mind, but the sinking of the *Lusitania* with many American women and children aboard, on May 7, 1915, had instant effect. Americans forgot their grievances against the British Government for interference with neutral commerce and turned in rage upon Germany. But their President was not yet ready to abandon his hope that America might end the war without resorting to force. Wilson sent note after note to the German Government to get a disavowal of the *Lusitania* affair and abandonment of submarine warfare. Finally in the Summer of 1916, after the sinking of the French channel steamer *Sussex*, he exacted the pledge from Germany that no more non-combatant vessels would be sunk without warning and without saving human lives. It may be that Germany was influenced by the change coming over American opinion.

Preparedness—Wilson himself at last championed preparedness. In the Spring of 1916 the military weakness of the United States was revealed in startling manner when Villa's raid made necessary the mobilization of American troops on the Mexican border. In June Congress passed the National Defense Act to enlarge the regular army, to reorganize the National Guard and to provide for an Officers' Reserve Corps and Summer training camps. And the Naval Appropriation Act of 1916 authorized construction during the next three years of ten dreadnaughts and six battle cruisers. In August, 1916, Congress authorized the creation of the Council of National Defense which, with expert advisers, should draft plans for mobilization of the nation's strength in case of war.

Last Overtures for Peace—Now, however, that the diplomatic break with Germany had been averted and he himself had won re-election to the Presidency, Wilson returned to his hope that he might persuade the belligerents to accept American mediation. But his suggestion in December, 1916, that they state their war aims was anticipated by a German overture for peace. The Allies scorned both. Germany had the upper hand on the eastern front. Its arrogant ambitions were ill-concealed by the offer of peace. Wilson, too, was soon convinced. Discounting the possibility that the Americans would fight, Germany announced that its Sussex pledge would be repudiated and submarine warfare resumed in February, 1917. The President went before Congress to declare that diplomatic relations with Germany were at an end. Within a few weeks, despite the efforts of some Americans, still hoping against hope that war might be averted, Congress declared war upon Germany.

America at War—The United States prepared for battle. Industry, agriculture and labor were placed under the supervision of war commissions and boards. Railroads were consolidated under Federal control and direction. Federal officers regulated the consumption of food and fuel. The production of munitions was brought under Federal supervision, and a large program was laid down for the construction of aircraft. An Emergency Fleet Corporation, owned by the Government, took charge of shipbuilding for the transport service. A War Finance Corporation extended credit to industries engaged in war work; a War Industries Board supervised their operation. Under the Overman act the President received power to create new agencies and consolidate or reorganize old agencies of Government wherever he found need. Mobilization of America's resources continued until Federal control penetrated into every field of domestic activity. Innumerable voluntary civilian committees cooperated with the Treasury De-

partment in Liberty Loan drives for financial resources to defeat Germany.

The Fighting Force—The Selective Service act of May 18, 1917, erected the machinery for drafting citizens into a national army. They were rapidly concentrated in cantonments for equipment and training. In the meantime General Pershing and the first contingent of troops had landed in France. Within a year the American Expeditionary Force had increased to nearly two million. The navy's building program was speeded up, its personnel increased, the battle fleet sent to join the British fleet in the North Sea and mine layers and submarine chasers equipped and sent across the Atlantic, while destroyers patrolled the sea lanes and convoyed transports loaded with American soldiers.

By the Spring of 1918 American troops were in sufficient force on the fighting front to relieve French and British forces in some sectors and to participate in defense of others against the German offensive. The Americans helped to turn the Germans back at Château-Thierry and took part in the counterattack. An American army carried out an operation of its own in reducing the St. Mihiel salient. American divisions were thrown in force against the Germans in the Meuse-Argonne offensive to bring victory to the Allies. An American army of occupation marched into Coblenz after the armistice. The United States had equipped, trained, dispatched safely across the Atlantic, maintained in France on its own service of supply and placed under the supreme command of General Foch an armed force of 2,000,000 men. The military and naval cooperation of the United States with the Allies was, indeed, a notable achievement. And the fighting qualities of its citizens could no longer be ignored.

The Negotiation of Peace—While in a martial mood the American people had shown tremendous energy and unity of purpose. They had struck

hard at the arrogant imperialism of Germany. Would they now turn to the problem of establishing peace with the same unanimity? Their President had endeavored to express the terms of peace they desired, but he did not gain unanimous support for his "Fourteen Points." Many Americans were especially skeptical toward the proposal of a League of Nations. The traditional policy of the United States, they felt, forbade commitment to such an international institution. Wilson, however, went to Europe to secure incorporation of his proposals in the Covenant of Peace and to promise America's cooperation. The United States could perform a great international service if it did so. By participation in the councils of nations it could interests that would goad European nations into another struggle. Wilson was prevent in large measure the conflicts of received by the common people of Europe with a welcome such as no American had ever experienced. Then he met the diplomats of Europe at Versailles.

The Settlement—An American observer of events at the Peace Conference has recorded his opinion that Wilson prevailed over the old school of diplomats. He sought a peace of justice. He made no claim for the United States for a share in the spoils. He wished a league of nations to replace the old principle of a balance of power. Competing alliances must give way to international co-operation. Hard though the terms of the treaty may have seemed to the Germans, they were not drawn in the spirit which would have reigned at the Peace Conference had Wilson been absent. Under his pressure the League of Nations was made the very foundation upon which the whole structure of European settlement should rest. At his insistence the victorious nations were not given the former colonies of Germany, but were placed over them as mandataries and for their administration made responsible to the League. But to obtain acceptance of the treaty the American delegation had to make concessions.

It was tacitly admitted that the safety

of the British "island empire" forbade the "freedom of the seas" for neutral commerce in time of war. To France Wilson was obliged to concede the right to demand reparations of Germany, to take possession of the coal mines in the Sarre Valley as compensation for irreparable damage to French mines, to demilitarize the left bank of the Rhine as a safeguard against another invasion of France. Further, France was promised that Great Britain and the United States would undertake to aid France in case of an unprovoked attack by Germany. To Italy, although refusing Fiume, Wilson gave approval for occupation of old Austrian territory on the southern slope of the Alps even though part of the region had practically no Italian inhabitants. And he agreed that Japan should retain Shantung, although China strongly objected. On its part Japan gave its word that it would in time withdraw and permit the restoration of Chinese sovereignty. Such concessions as these, considered necessary to obtain peace in Europe, were serious compromises, but they did not destroy the American plan for world settlement. They did not give room for reactionaries to hope for a return to the old order nor for reformers to denounce the Treaty of Versailles as a travesty.

The Defeat at Washington—Wilson turned from his diplomatic task at Versailles to face a greater political obstacle at Washington. Although he had gained a qualified success at the Peace Conference, the acclaim which had welcomed him had long since died down. His resistance to the desires of Italy and France dispelled the glamour of the "Fourteen Points." The reaction in Europe presaged his fate at home. He was to meet defeat.

The President had been speeded on his way to Europe with the sharp admonition of Theodore Roosevelt: "Our allies and our enemies and Mr. Wilson himself should all understand that Mr. Wilson has no authority whatever to speak for the American people at this time." Wilson, nevertheless, had gone to

represent the American people and he had taken among the American delegates no Senator nor prominent member of the Republican Party. He had not chosen to consider the possibility that the Senate might reject the treaty which he hoped to bring back. He had chosen to disregard partisan opposition. When he returned he found that personal feelings were strong and that hostile Republicans controlled the Senate. He determined to appeal his case to the American people and convince them that their Senators should ratify the Treaty of Versailles and accept for the United States a place in the Council of the League of Nations, but he collapsed under the strain of a speaking tour in the Middle West. Broken in health, he could only maintain to the end a stubborn resistance to any reservations that came from Republican sources. He preferred to let the treaty fail rather than accept restrictions upon Article X. of the League Covenant.

The American Treaties—The Treaty of Versailles and the proposed alliance with France and Great Britain, in consequence, were rejected by the Senate. Eventually under President Harding separate treaties of peace with Germany and Austria were negotiated and ratified. By their terms the United States was guaranteed equal enjoyment of the concessions stipulated in certain clauses of the Treaty of Versailles but expressly exempted from any responsibilities that it had placed upon the Allies.

The Treaty of Berlin declared officially that the war between Germany and the United States was at an end. The surge of emotion which had roused the American people against Germany had carried them into the thick of the European struggle. Their President had voiced the high idealism which spurred them on. He had hoped that they would accept the responsibilities of the Treaty of Versailles. They were stronger than ever before. They need have no great fear of being attacked. Their great power might check aggressive actions in

the future and prevent another war. But with the end of fighting the old spectre of "foreign entanglements" appeared. They turned their backs upon the opportunity, which many now considered a moral obligation. They refused to participate with the nations of Europe in the League. Individual Americans were free to give their aid, if it were desired; the Government of the United States must preserve the tradition of "non-intervention" with the affairs of Europe. But it retained unofficial observers abroad to watch developments.

American Observers in Europe

—When it appeared that Great Britain and France by their agreement at San Remo were so interpreting the mandatory powers given them through the League that Americans might be excluded from a share in the exploitation of Turkish and East Indian oil fields, the American Secretary of State, Colby, insisted that the United States had interests which must be respected. And Harding's Secretary, Hughes, carried on where Colby left off. The United States argued that its own supply of petroleum had been drawn on heavily in the past for foreign consumption and that it was running low. American citizens, therefore, must be allowed to participate in foreign supplies.

Secretary Hughes protested also when he learned that, under the League, Japan was to be given a mandate over the Pacific island of Yap, an important cable station. The United States must have as free use of the island as Japan and other nations enjoyed. Hughes furthermore notified the Reparation Commission that it must include in its accounts the costs of the American army of occupation in Germany. Even if it had not accepted the Treaty of Versailles, the United States had gained rights as an associate with the Allies in the victory over Germany, and they must be respected.

The American observers who attended the Lausanne conference in 1923, to watch negotiations with the Turkish Government of Mustapha Kemal after

the Greeks had been driven out of Asia Minor, carefully avoided any participation with the Allies. Acting independently, the Americans arranged a separate agreement to safeguard the interests of the United States, although they arrived at virtually the same terms with the Turks that the European representatives had secured.

American troops might withdraw. The United States Government might refuse to participate officially. But American interests remained in Europe and the Orient. Oil, cable stations, commercial and missionary interests forced the United States to take part in European affairs. It seemed necessary, from political expediency, to assume the guise of "unofficial observation." Harding's Republican Administration could not continue the policy for which the preceding Democratic Government had been bitterly criticized. But with regard at least to the petroleum deposits of Europe and Asia Minor, Republicans appreciated as well as Democrats that the traditional policy of non-intervention in European affairs had been modified.

The Washington Conference—

Secretary Hughes got upon surer ground when European powers were invited to a conference of nations at Washington. He was prepared to present a definite American offer for naval disarmament. The United States would abandon its plan to construct a fleet that should have no equal; it would scrap some of its capital ships and refrain from building for fifteen years, of Great Britain and Japan would do likewise and agree to a ratio which gave Great Britain and the United States each the relative strength of five and Japan of three. It was so agreed. It was further agreed that they should not construct new fortifications or naval bases. The five powers—Japan, Italy, France, the British Empire and the United States—signed the naval treaty. France and Italy accepted a smaller ratio of capital ships but reserved the right to construct submarines for defense of their coasts.

The suggestion that land armaments be reduced was effectively stopped by France, which feared Germany more than ever since the United States Senate had rejected the alliance to resist an unprovoked attack. The five powers, however, signed a treaty to outlaw the use of poisonous gases in warfare and the use of submarines as commerce destroyers. The five powers, together with China, Belgium, Portugal and the Netherlands, accepted two treaties with regard to China. The first bound the signatory powers to respect Chinese sovereignty and to accept the principle of "the open door" for trade. The second was an agreement that China's tariff should be raised and a commission should be appointed to make the revision. China and Japan entered into a separate agreement for the transfer of Shantung to China. The four powers—Japan, France, the British Empire and the United States—signed a Pacific treaty to replace the agreement between Japan and Great Britain. The new treaty, to be in force for ten years, declared that the four powers would respect the insular possessions of each other, that they would refer disputes among themselves over affairs in the Pacific to a joint conference and that in case of aggressive action by any other power they would communicate with each other in regard to measures to meet the situation. With the reservation that the agreement did not obligate the United States to use armed force, the Senate ratified the Pacific treaty.

The Republican Conception of an Association of Nations—

Harding's Administration could face its critics with more assurance after these steps toward the establishment of world peace. The Washington conference had revealed Harding's conception of the proper association of nations. The larger powers should meet in conference from time to time to reach common agreement on such matters as disarmament and imperial possessions in the Pacific. The smaller powers should be invited to join in those agreements

which involved their interests. After the Washington conference, Harding declared that the United States in due course should acknowledge the jurisdiction of the World Court as an international tribunal of justice. But he insisted that the United States should take no part in the political deliberations of the League of Nations. Europe, moreover, was given to understand that its debts to the United States would not be canceled. Great Britain has made arrangements for gradual payment of its obligations to the United States. France has delayed negotiating for terms until it should be certain of reparations from Germany.

Reparations and the Ruhr—

In December, 1922, Secretary Hughes declared that the United States Government could take no part in solving the problem of reparations, which the French seizure of the Ruhr had made even more difficult. He stressed the point, however, that, if invited by Europe, private citizens of the United States, financial and economic experts would without doubt gladly accept places on a non-political commission to investigate Germany's resources, to determine its ability to pay and to devise a scheme for settlement.

The Dawes Commission— Within a few months such an international commission, with the American, Charles G. Dawes, at its head, made a study of the situation and placed before the Governments of Great Britain, France and Germany proposals for re-establishment of German finances and payment of reparations. And during the past Summer British and French delegates to the conference of the Allies at London reached an understanding. France decided that its security was assured at last and that adequate protection against German default of payments had been obtained and pledged itself to withdraw from the Ruhr. The Franco-British accord made certain the loan to Germany which was necessary for the restoration of its credit before payment

of reparations could be resumed. The Government of Germany responded to the overtures of the London Conference. It accepted the Dawes plan and promised to undertake payment of reparations.

The London Conference—

The American Ambassador to Great Britain was in attendance throughout the conference. With him were the unofficial observer of the Reparation Commission and another American who had been on the Dawes commission and who soon was to be made agent-general of reparations under the Franco-British agreement. Prominent members of J. P. Morgan & Co. sat in conference with British bankers and French representatives over matters concerning the proposed loan to Germany. Two members of the American Administration, Hughes, Secretary of State, and Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury, although declaring that they were present in an unofficial capacity, also happened to be in London. That these Americans had much to do with arranging the settlement cannot be denied; yet, the United States Government held strictly to official non-intervention. Its attitude was determined by the prevailing popular mood. Never before had the American people been so interested in the progress of European events and perhaps never before had they been more reluctant to have their Government become involved. The war had brought both a realization of their tremendous economic resources and military power and a greater anxiety for their national welfare. Some Americans believed that their country was powerful enough to have no fear of attack and hoped that it would use its power for international service, but many others would guard their national interests more jealously than ever. Latin Americans looked upon this attitude as confirmation of their traditional suspicions.

Relations With Latin America

—For a hundred years the United States had held its Monroe Doctrine

as a barrier against the interference of non-American powers in the Western World. With increasing misgiving, Latin Americans had watched this doctrine evolve into a policy of particular interest until they had come to view it as Yankee imperialism. They saw American capital enter into competition with European capital to develop mines and oil fields in Mexico, tobacco and sugar plantations in Cuba, the fruit trade in Central America, electric light and power companies and other commercial interests. Many no doubt appreciated the benefits which resulted from Yankee enterprise, but others denounced it as exploitation and insisted that the United States was bent upon a course of military aggression and expansion. Its actions in the Caribbean region seemed to uphold that contention.

Panama Canal Protection—

After the United States had constructed the Panama Canal it frankly declared that it had a major interest in the Caribbean. The canal must be defended. For that purpose the United States pressed the Central American republic to cede the islands near the entrance to the canal and it purchased the Virgin Islands from Denmark to control the sea lane past Porto Rico into the Caribbean Sea. Moreover, it determined that the small Caribbean republics must so conduct their affairs in peace and order that no foreign power could find cause to interfere and thus gain a foothold. If those small countries of themselves could not maintain stability, the United States felt free in self-defense to interfere with armed force and governmental supervision. But the Caribbean policy of the United States contained another principle. From Taft to Coolidge, the American Presidents, or their spokesmen, have declared that the United States had no designs upon the territory and no intention of subverting the political rights of small nations.

*The Caribbean Policy—*The two principles, obviously, are in direct con-

flict. One cannot operate without some interference with the other. It was a delicate problem to determine how far the United States could honorably go in assuming control over Caribbean affairs in order to insure the security of the Panama Canal. Critics of the American policy, of course, argued that any American action ashore violated the sovereignty of the Caribbean countries. Supporters contended that the United States might consider those States as analogous to public nuisances. Because of their constant revolutions, their primitive methods of sanitation and protection against disease and their disregard for financial obligations, they not only injured themselves but they endangered other States as well. From that viewpoint the United States would have not only a right but a duty to abate such international nuisances, even if its interest in its own self-defense did not require intervention.

While the European nations were in the midst of war, the United States took action in Haiti, Santo Domingo and Central America. The Haitians were forced to accept a treaty which established American supervision over customs and Governmental expenditures and assured to the United States a naval base to dominate the Windward Passage from the Atlantic to the Caribbean. A President favorable to the treaty was set up under the protection of American marines and a native constabulary organized to keep order. Considerable blood was shed, especially in 1918 and 1919, before the insurrectionists could be controlled. It was particularly galling to Haitian intellectuals, with a background of French culture, to be controlled by a nation where fellow negroes were held within a color line. American liberals declared that the occupation of Haiti was an outrage, made worse by the fact that their President was urging Europe to recognize the right of self-determination for small nations. What if the marines were clearing the back-country of bandits and protecting humble folk in their daily labors? What if American officials were straightening out Hai-

tian finances and bringing prosperity? Latin America could rightly dismiss American altruism as hypocrisy!

Without regard for such opinions, Harding continued the policy of Wilson's Administration. American forces were to remain in Haiti and Santo Domingo until it appeared bloodshed and revolution would not occur upon their retirement. In 1922 American military authority in Santo Domingo was withdrawn in favor of a duly constituted native Government. Haiti still remains under the armed supervision of the United States.

The Conference at Santiago—

The Caribbean policy of the United States and its refusal to enter the League of Nations go far to explain the failure of the fifth Pan-American Conference at Santiago, Chile, in 1923. There, South America learned that the United States considered the Monroe Doctrine to be its own particular policy. Latin Americans discovered that the principle of international cooperation to which they had adhered by joining the League of Nations was not to be the principle of Pan-American action. The United States was following the old course of self-appointed guardianship on the frank contention that its own safety made that policy necessary.

Mexico—The revolutions and disorders of Mexico, lying adjacent to the territory of the United States, have been an immediate menace to its peace and safety. Mexican immigrant laborers have created a race problem in some American communities. On the other hand, the American people have menaced the welfare of Mexico. Latin Americans have not forgotten the restless pioneers who engulfed Mexican authority in Texas a hundred years ago. They see the same aggressiveness behind American investments in Mexican ranches, mines and oil fields. Then, it was an unscrupulous democratic horde. Today Mexican journalists view it as a covetous plutocracy which has the same desire for annexation. Past

relations between Mexico and the United States would make extremely difficult the exercise of such direction as the United States Government can employ in the Caribbean, even if the mountainous character of the country, its distances and its population did not make operation of a constabulary force impossible. Like the Caribbean republics, Mexico, nevertheless, has got in trouble with foreign creditors and the United States has found the task of applying the Monroe Doctrine extremely uncomfortable.

Foreign capital had been welcomed by Mexico during the rule of Diaz. American and British interests especially had become well established when Madero led a popular revolt and brought the autocratic régime of Diaz down in ruins. The United States Government had a choice of two policies. It could assume responsibility for the interests of foreign capitalists and intervene in the affairs of Mexico. But, even if such action were successful, all Latin America would be convinced that conquest and annexation would immediately follow. President Wilson chose as the alternative to set aside responsibility to European interests and to advise Americans that they must take their chances under Mexican authority or else withdraw their interests. Wilson was convinced that Madero's revolt expressed the desires of the Mexican people. Reiterating the statement that the United States did not seek additional territory at the expense of its neighbors, Wilson declared against interference with Mexican affairs. Such a policy was absolutely essential for the maintenance of friendly relations between the United States and the Latin-American republics. But in spite of that Wilson soon felt obliged to intervene.

In the counter-revolt of Huerta the President of the United States saw a reactionary movement, a plot against the interests of the Mexican people. When, therefore, Huerta offered insults to the United States, Wilson was quick to send American troops into Vera Cruz. They held that seaport until Huerta gave

up and fled from Mexico. But Wilson was determined that the United States should go no further. He accepted the mediation of Argentina, Brazil and Chile and agreed to recognize Carranza as the President desired by the Mexican people. Then Villa, rival of Carranza, sought to ride to power on a wave of popular resentment against the United States. His raid into New Mexico was intended to sting the United States into intervention. He knew that the wrath of the Mexican people would be turned upon Carranza if he allowed American troops to enter Mexican territory in pursuit. Villa's raid brought General Pershing and American troops into Mexico, but Carranza played his part well. As the American columns penetrated further into the country his protests grew stronger. At last Carranzistas attacked American cavalymen at Carrizal and the United States was on the verge of another war with Mexico. At this juncture, however, Wilson drew back.

Such a war would be difficult, expensive and disgraceful. Mexico was obviously too weak to withstand the American nation. Moreover, our official declarations in the past against conquest must be honored. Finally, Germany's submarine warfare was dragging the United States closer to the European struggle. It was no time to engage in an uncertain contest with Mexico with far graver trouble so near at hand. The American troops returned from Mexico without Villa and the American people vented their irritation upon their own President. But when it became known later that Germany's Foreign Minister, Zimmerman, intrigued to lure Mexico into trouble with the United States, they forgot much of their impatience with Wilson and turned their wrath upon Germany.

When American attention came again to Mexican affairs Carranza had fallen before Obregon. A Government had been established that recognized the Indian elements in the population and gave them opportunity for political expression, that drew its strength from the

common people and proposed to advance the interests of laborers, that asserted national ownership of the subsoil resources of Mexico and determined to protect its minerals and petroleum against capitalistic exploitation. The United States Government was quite naturally anxious to negotiate with Obregon in behalf of those American investors in mines and oil wells whose interests seemed to be jeopardized by the new order. In return for recognition of his Government and the practical advantage of being able to borrow American money, Obregon gave assurance in the Summer of 1923 that American land and oil interests would be shown due respect and claims for damages would be settled by a commission of inquiry. Then, when American and Mexican difficulties seemed to be almost at an end, another revolution broke out.

De la Huerta, angered, it seems, because Obregon preferred the more radical Calles as his successor in the Presidency, gathered together the remnants of the old ruling class. Landowners, old officials under Diaz, capitalists, members of the Church—all supporters of the old order—endeavored to overthrow the Government of the laboring classes. They failed, thanks in part to the action of the American Administration. To aid Obregon Coolidge raised the arms embargo, permitted the movement of troops through territory of the United States and practically broke the rebel blockade of the Mexican coast. The national interest of the United States, to be sure, dictated that it should support the Mexican Government with which it had just made an agreement for the protection of American investments. Without doubt it was "intervention." But Latin America should note that the United States intervened to support a radical Government whose policy openly opposed further exploitation of Mexican resources by foreign capital. In fact, it may be said with reason that a capitalistic State had come to the aid of a socialistic Government. Latin America should consider well how such intervention conforms with its ac-

customed view of "Yankee imperialism" and "dollar diplomacy."

The Philippines—On the other side of the world the United States has wielded imperial power since the Spanish-American War. During the Republican Administrations of Roosevelt and Taft the Filipinos were held under American protection and control and gradually extended certain privileges of self-government, with the promise that eventually the United States would withdraw. There was, however, the possibility of immediate absorption by Germany or Japan to deter American withdrawal.

Great progress had been made in training the Filipinos in American ways when the Democratic Administration of Wilson took over the direction of American imperial policy. Under liberal influences Congress passed the Jones act of 1916. It greatly increased native participation in the Government of the Philippines, but Governor Harrison went beyond its provisions to set up a Council of State which gave practical control of Philippine affairs to the natives sitting with him on that council. After that departure the Filipinos were led to believe that in the immediate future the United States would withdraw and grant them complete independence. But Republican critics of the Wilsonian policy were insistent that the Filipinos were not ready to govern themselves. They declared that American withdrawal then would leave the non-Christian elements, Mohammedan Moros and pagan tribes at the mercy of a small ruling class centered in Manila. They asserted that Western civilization had not permeated the islands and that the second generation had not yet learned English as a common language to replace the multitude of dialects and distinct tongues which so effectively retarded the development of social, economic and political unity. Besides, there now were extensive American commercial interests in the Philippines that could not be abandoned to the mercy of a hostile native Government.

When a Republican President re-

turned to the White House in 1921 a Republican commission of investigation proceeded to the Philippines. General Leonard Wood and former Governor W. Cameron Forbes reported to President Harding that the Philippines were not ready for native rule. They found that much progress had been made, but that the process of civilization had not gone far enough to warrant American withdrawal. They found, further, that corruption and mismanagement had crept into high offices. Harding appointed General Wood Governor. Wood was to maintain the authority of the United States as defined in the Jones act against the will of native leaders to rule. In spite of an active Filipino lobby at Washington and an opinion in many American circles that the charges against native rule have not been satisfactorily proved, the Republican Administration has endorsed the actions of Governor Wood and has refused to listen to the importunities of the Filipinos. The American imperial domain in the Pacific remains intact.

Domestic Affairs—After the armistice the American people took up their domestic affairs with a sense of relief, but they did not find peace. The mind of America was seething. Contradictory ideas of American responsibility as a world power, opposing theories for the adjustment of social problems, antagonistic religious beliefs and jealous thoughts for particular interests were in turbulent confusion.

The Veterans—The returning soldiers presented a problem of difficult solution. Many of them brought back an attitude that contributed to the wave of crime which swept over the country. It was no easy matter in many cases to restore the veteran to his former occupation in civil life. It was more difficult to determine what should be an appropriate reward for his service to the country. Many of the returning soldiers and sailors desired no material compensation. President Harding faced the problem with the conviction that the disabled

should receive proper care at public expense, but that the condition of the Treasury did not permit the payment of a bonus. A veterans' bureau, accordingly, was established to care for the sick and disabled, and proposals for a bonus were countered with the declaration that new sources of revenue, perhaps a sale tax, would have to be found. The interest of the taxpayer, however, eventually gave way to sentiment, effectively organized in Congress, and the Bonus bill was passed over the veto of Coolidge.

The Negro—The negro problem took on a new phase following the war. Those who had experienced the freedom of France as American soldiers returned to the social restrictions of America with dissatisfaction. There were conflicts between blacks and whites in some American cities. Alarmists predicted a race war, but violence subsided. In another respect, however, the negro problem became more serious. Southern negroes, grown tired of agricultural life and frightened by the spread of lynch law, began to migrate northward in significant numbers. But if they hoped to meet better conditions in the industrial life of the North they were soon disillusioned. They were met with open hostility by white labor. They found that the color line was also drawn in Northern society. What solution will be made of the social problem of the negro remains for a future generation of the American people.

Prohibition Violation—War prohibition went into effect on July 1, 1919. In the meantime the amendment to the Constitution had been ratified by the States, and Congress passed the Volstead act for Federal enforcement in the Fall of 1919. Two developments in American opinion at once appeared. A stronger sentiment in favor of prohibition manifested itself in the Western States of Colorado, Michigan, Washington, Ohio and California, where proposals to permit the use of "light wines and beers" were defeated by larger votes

than had been given for the amendment. At the same time there has sprung up an illicit traffic, confined to no particular section of the United States but busiest along the seaboard and the Canadian border, where smugglers and bootleggers have better facilities for bringing liquor and consumer together. It is the second development which has caused misgivings among many Americans.

The corruption of revenue officers, under oath to enforce the law, and the disregard which many citizens have for the law of their country raise serious question as to the wisdom of the Eighteenth Amendment. Under it the Federal authority has advanced into the realm of control over private standards of living, a realm in which State authority once possessed exclusive jurisdiction. In matters which concern the individual and his relations with his immediate neighbors in a particular area of the country, it may be that Federal authority, directed by the will of a majority which is not necessarily dominant in all areas of the United States, ought not to supersede State authority. But regardless, the Federal Government has received jurisdiction over the use of intoxicating liquors. They have been declared by the sovereign majority of the American people to be a public nuisance of national proportions.

Religion—Under the stimulus of war ideals leaders of the Protestant churches in America hoped to unite them in the Interchurch World Movement. They would sink old differences in the common cause of peace and good-will toward men. But those who had visions of religious accord were soon disappointed. The Interchurch World Movement failed. Sectarians could not abandon cherished distinctions. The part taken by the movement on the side of labor in the steel strike of 1919 displeased many who would otherwise have approved. A controversy between Fundamentalists and Modernists soon rose over evolution and Christian theology to drive the hope of church unity still

further from realization. The war had vitalized modern religious ideals and stimulated leaders to attempt to put them into practice, but the impact of those thoughts upon the mind of America had roused old convictions to revived effort in self-defense. The outcome of this conflict remains to be decided. The Interchurch World Movement seems to have broken down, but there is no assurance that modern religious thought will decline before the attacks of reactionaries, even though they may gain control in some State Legislatures and enact laws to prevent the teaching of evolution in public schools.

The Ku Klux Klan—Drawing its strength from practically the same racial stock as Fundamentalism, another reactionary movement has declared itself defender of American institutions. The new Ku Klux Klan, assuming the old mantle of secrecy, mystery and force, was organized in Georgia during 1915, but it was of no significance until after the war. Then it suddenly spread far and wide, gathering into its ranks many who had caught the feeling of power in citizens' committees and local vigilantes in wartime or who believed that justice too often miscarried in the courts or who harbored age-old racial and religious prejudices that had never been subjected to critical analysis. Negroes, Jews and Catholics have experienced the hostility of the Klan, expressed in vituperation, intimidation, boycott or furtive violence—whichever means best fitted the immediate situation, the temper of local Klansmen or the strength of their victims. The Klan has gained most adherents in the South and West among the descendants of the original American stock, those English and Scotch-Irish pioneers, rabid Protestants who pressed westward with the frontier. The Klan boasts that its ideal is "100 per cent. Americanism." In fact, it seeks to defend the interest of but one part of the American people. Its power, however, has become so far-reaching that it played a major rôle in the elec-

tion of a National Administration in November, 1924.

The Industrial Interest—The World War affected the economic organization of American society. Business men and manufacturers, sensing from war experience the value of unity, employed collective action even more than before the war. They brought their commercial and industrial interests together in chambers of commerce, manufacturing associations, sales agencies and the like. Possessing more influence in Congress than any other class, they won ready response to their demand that American goods be protected from the expected flood of foreign goods. The Fordney-McCumber tariff raised the level of protection to the highest point in the history of the country.

The Labor Unrest—Laboring men, although enjoying war wages and, in general, shorter hours and better conditions of labor than ever before, saw the cost of living mount upward until by 1920 it threatened to eliminate the advantage which they had gained with war wages. They desired higher wages that they might maintain their advantage, and, when inevitable deflation of war prices overtook the farmers, laborers endeavored to avert a similar fate by insisting upon still higher wages. The railroad brotherhoods demanded a share in the management of the railroads. But capital had greater influence in Congress than labor. The so-called Plumb plan was set aside for the Esch-Cummins act. It returned the railroads to their private owners and established a Federal Railroad Labor Board to determine wages.

When the demands of labor for higher wages met stubborn resistance from the employers a succession of strikes in steel mills, coal mines and textile mills, and, in defiance of the Railroad Labor Board, on the railroads, disturbed the whole country from 1919 to 1923. Although in some instances, where employers refused to recognize the right of laborers to organize unions, public sym-

pathy was with the strikers, often the public saw its own interest hurt by interference with the operation of railroads and coal mines. The distress of New England in the Winter of 1922 because of coal shortage weakened the case of organized labor. Moreover, it was evident that the laborer's wage was high in comparison with the salary of the professional man. The spectacle of railroad brotherhoods entering the banking business after the manner of "capitalists" checked many Americans from indulging the laboring man with sympathy for his lot in life.

Injunctions—In all these strikes the Federal and State Governments seemed to take the part of the employers, for the courts still issued injunctions against strike leaders. The Supreme Court handed down the decision that the Clayton act of 1914 had not taken that power from the judiciary. Where laws passed to protect the country in time of war had not yet expired or been repealed, injunctions were issued directly against strikes as conspiracies against the safety of the State. Profiting from the experience of the soft coal miners with the war law, the anthracite miners resorted in 1920 to "vacations" taken without leave. Obviously such action was concerted, but it was another matter to obtain legal proof that it was conspiracy. The employers might bring civil suit against each employe who broke a wage contract by leaving his job, but to institute civil proceedings against thousands of individuals is practically impossible.

Those who defend the use of injunctions in contests between labor and capital declare that the courts endeavor to protect the public interest. Friends of labor, however, insist that the judiciary is subservient to the industrial interest. On that contention the supporters of La Follette in the recent election campaign based their attack upon the Supreme Court. They insisted that it should not have final decision as to the constitutionality of acts passed by Congress.

The Agricultural Interest—

Like the industrialists and laborers, the farmers of the United States emerged from participation in the World War with heightened interest in collective action. It appeared that there had been some overproduction. It became evident that the existing system of distribution contributed to the fluctuation of prices upon farm products. But more detrimental to the farming class than either overproduction or inefficient distribution was the decline of the purchasing power of Europe that followed inevitably from the ravages of war. Sharply affected by the worldwide economic depression of 1920 and 1921, the American farmers turned to their Government for assistance. Their leaders, finding at hand the farm bureaus which had been subsidized by Federal revenues under the Smith-Lever act of 1914, collected them in one national organization and then brought its influence to bear upon Congress.

Following the example of labor, the farmers' organization chose to hold apart from either the Democratic or the Republican political organizations and to use its power by playing one party against the other or by winning the support of groups in both parties. While organized labor has sought to accomplish its aims in the lobby, the agricultural interest has penetrated into the House and the Senate. A farm bloc of Senators and Representatives, drawn from both parties, has become so well organized that it practically holds the balance of power in Congress. It is able to retard important legislation until its own desires are met or defeated by coalitions of other groups. And such coalitions are difficult to create because of many conflicting interests. Although the farm bloc has not secured all that it wishes, it has nevertheless been able to obtain legislation favorable to co-operative distribution. Agricultural combinations have been granted exemption from the restrictions of the anti-trust laws. Farm products have been put under the protection of tariffs. Further extensions of agricultural credits

have been directed through the Federal Reserve and Farm Loan Boards. Most recently the farm bloc has proposed the McNary-Haugen bill, which would oblige the Federal Government to purchase farm products in excess of domestic needs and dispose of them in foreign markets. The intention of the proposal is to free domestic prices from the influence of foreign demand, the decline of which has so recently brought down domestic prices on farm products. It may be that such legislation would benefit the public eventually, but it is obvious that it is based upon the social and economic interests of a particular class and that the class would receive the principal benefit. Although the representatives of the farmers in Congress have been able to accomplish a great many of their desires, traditional agrarian suspicions of capitalistic influences at Washington have not waned. Agricultural unrest, especially in the States of the Northwest, caused political managers a great deal of worry during the election campaign.

The Extension of Federal Authority—Long before the last decade the American people had begun, as we have observed, to extend the authority of their Federal Government far into fields once within the jurisdiction of States or left free for individual action. Such a development, perhaps, was only natural as the American system of government reached maturity. But the last ten years have witnessed an acceleration of that development. Our entrance into the war made necessary the consolidation of administrative power in the Central Government and the extension of its authority over State, section and class, as well as individual. Since the war sharp conflicts between class interests have arisen and made even more imperative the assertion of an extended Federal authority, if the public interest is to remain paramount.

Administrative Boards—Federal administrative boards, accordingly,

have been increased in number and their powers enlarged. The Interstate Commerce Commission, originally established to regulate rates and to prevent discrimination, has been set to the task of consolidating the railroads of the United States into regional systems which shall do away with needless competition and at the same time avoid the injury to the public interest that arises from monopoly. Under the Esch-Cummins act, a Railroad Labor Board has been established, with jurisdiction over the railroad wage scale. Besides the Farm Loan Board, to provide agricultural credits, the War Finance Corporation has been revived to assist the farmers by extending credit for the disposal of surplus products abroad. The Federal Reserve Board has directed additional credits, through member banks, to aid the farmers. During the coal strike of 1919 a Federal commission was established to adjust the dispute between operators and miners in order that production of coal might not be hindered. The Shipping Board has administered the war fleet of cargo and passenger carriers with the purpose of maintaining an American merchant marine. In an endeavor, however, to subsidize it as part of the public interest, President Harding met defeat in Congress. The farm bloc opposed the expenditure of Federal funds on a merchant marine before legislation was passed to foster agriculture. The Federal Trade Commission, with authority given it by Congress in 1914, has investigated the meat-packing industry and the United States Steel Corporation. The packers were obliged to withdraw from certain subsidiary businesses. Their interests in those enterprises seemed to give them too great control over the food supply of the American people. More recently, after an adverse opinion by the Trade Commission, the United States Steel Corporation abandoned its "Pittsburgh Plus" quotation on prices on steel. The Trade Commission considered that charges for steel shipped from Gary, Ind., to points West as if it had been delivered from Pittsburgh

were unfair and detrimental to the public interest.

Grants-in-Aid—Since the war the Federal Government has continued to cooperate with the States in matters within the sphere of State control. But Federal grants-in-aid of highways, agricultural education and country agents for farm bureaus are made upon the stipulation that the States shall accept restrictions set by the Federal Government. Recently a plan for Federal aid in the protection of mothers and children, the Sheppard-Towner Maternity bill, has been before Congress, and a Department of Education, with a place in the President's Cabinet, has been proposed in accord with demands for a uniform national system of education.

The Federal authority has also made a significant advance in relations with the States by participating in negotiation of an interstate agreement to control the Colorado River. Representatives of the seven States interested in developing that water supply for power and irrigation drew up a treaty in 1923. If the State Governments ratify the agreement, there is likelihood that Federal resources will be employed to aid in construction of reservoirs and power plants.

Enlargements of Departments

—As Congress has enacted legislation extending the authority of the Federal Government, the duties of executive departments and their bureaus have correspondingly increased. The administration of the income tax law made necessary an increased personnel of Federal officials. Enforcement of the Volstead act has obliged the Treasury Department to increase expenditures and to establish a corps of Federal prohibition officers. Agitation for the protection of children has resulted in the establishment of a Federal bureau for child welfare. Popular insistence upon more careful appropriation and expenditure of public moneys led Congress to create a bureau for administration of a Federal budget under the direction of an executive offi-

cer not subordinate to any departmental secretary but responsible directly to the Chief Executive, and through the President to Congress.

The Department of Commerce has also expanded to keep pace with the development of national administration, although authority which, we might expect, would have fallen within its sphere has been delegated to such specially constructed administrative boards as the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Trade Commission and the Shipping Board. The Department of Commerce has been directed into scientific investigation. Its reports are now supplemented by a monthly "survey of current business" which is intended for wide distribution among the business men of the country. The department seeks to spread uniform and accurate information with regard to conditions, to standardize methods of trade and to eliminate practices which are inefficient or dangerous to public welfare. Although thus indirectly applied, the Federal authority nevertheless reaches far into the field of business where private and corporate interest once operated with little supervision.

The Judiciary—The Federal judiciary, as well as the executive, has been affected by expansion of Federal authority. The regulation of interstate and foreign commerce for many years has crowded the dockets of the Federal courts. The Sixteenth Amendment added to their jurisdiction cases which involved the administration of the Federal income tax. The Eighteenth Amendment loaded upon the Federal courts countless disputes over enforcement of the Volstead act. And now another amendment to the Constitution, if ratified by the States, will bring all cases pertaining to child labor into the jurisdiction of the Federal courts. We do not have to determine the merits of the opinion that children should not be employed in factories to see that the proposal will burden a branch of the Federal Government already overloaded. Yet it is probable that the process of extending Federal

authority will continue. The prevailing public opinion seems to be that the National Government should be enlarged and its jurisdiction extended rather than that, by a slower process, public conviction should direct the several States, in cooperation with one another, to adopt uniform policies toward their own domestic affairs.

The Evolution of Politics—

In the past decade American politics has undergone significant change. When the period opened the Progressive movement had just split the Republican Party and given the election of 1912 to the Democratic Party. Progressivism was primarily a movement in the interest of the common people, whether laborers, farmers or small business men. It opposed special privilege. Its attack was directed against the "trusts," the "money power," the "political bosses," the few who enjoyed power or favor at the expense of the many. Among the demands of the Progressives, therefore, were the initiative, the referendum, the recall, nominations by primaries, popular election of Senators—all instruments of "direct democracy." They advocated woman's suffrage. They desired legislation to control the money power, to increase Federal regulation of railroads, to break up monopolies, to deprive industry of unnecessary protection.

The Progressive Movement—

At the head of the Progressive movement stood Theodore Roosevelt. His personality eclipsed La Follette and all others. He proclaimed the principles of the Progressive movement as a "New Nationalism" in which the public interest should be supreme. And when the Republican Party was unwilling to set aside conservative leadership, many Progressives broke with the old organization and rallied around Roosevelt to form a new party. But they found that Democratic Progressives would not leave their party to follow Roosevelt. The Democratic Party was induced to nominate another reformer, Woodrow

Wilson, whose campaign speeches proclaimed a "New Freedom" and won the endorsement of organized labor.

*Wilson's Administration—*The election of Wilson meant the end of the Progressive Party. His administration embarked upon a liberal course. Under his guidance Congress passed reform laws that deprived the Progressive Party of its program. To avoid absorption into the Democratic Party, Progressive Republicans must perforce move back to their old allegiance. They felt justified in doing so for two reasons. First, Wilson's view of the public interest seemed to be determined by sympathy with the interests of laborers and farmers. Second, his foreign policy seemed to be encumbered with pacifism. "Watchful waiting" on the border of Mexico and holding Germany to "strict accountability" by persistent diplomatic notes were irritating. Progressive Republicans joined with "stand pat" Republicans, whom they had so recently been accusing of fraud and political oppression, to denounce the Democratic Administration. When, therefore, the regular Republican convention in 1916 nominated Justice Hughes, who had made a record as a reform Governor of New York, and Roosevelt withdrew in favor of Hughes, the Progressive Party gave up its separate course. But the coalition failed to defeat Wilson in the election of 1916.

*The Election of 1916—*Without the support of New York and other Eastern States, Wilson carried sufficient States in the South, Middle West and on the Pacific Coast to win. He gained support among laborers and farmers because of his record as a progressive. The Republican campaign of criticism reacted in his favor when it appeared that Hughes was not offering a constructive program. His cautious diplomacy with Mexico and Germany won votes in the Mississippi Valley. In fact, he was returned to office largely because he had avoided war. But before he could deliver his second inaugural address it was

clear that he would have to lead the American people into war.

Politics in Wartime—During the war politics were declared to be adjourned, but that did not mean that Wilson established a non-partisan Government nor that Republicans abandoned their privilege of criticism. Partisan convictions were submerged in the common cause of winning the war, but partisan feelings were gaining intensity under repression. With the armistice came the natural reaction from war. It may well be said that it is more difficult to govern in time of peace than in time of war, but nothing could be more difficult than to win re-election by a people just emerging from war. That was the situation of the Democratic Party in 1920. The Democratic candidate inherited Wilson's record of domestic reform and with it the favor of the American Federation of Labor, but he also fell heir to the cumulated emotions of the American people.

The Election of 1920—The real issue of the election in 1920 should have been the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations. Many Americans, no doubt, cast their votes for Cox on the ground that support of his candidacy meant acceptance of the League. But the Republican Party likewise endorsed the principle of an association of nations and as Republicans dominated the Senate; many other Americans who favored the League voted for Harding on the assumption that his election would lead more quickly to American participation with the League of Nations. There was no clear-cut decision by the American people on the issue of Democratic foreign policy.

Far more responsible for the overthrow of the Democratic Party were the emotional factors of animosity toward its war President, whose personality had angered many fellow-citizens, of uneasiness over high taxes and mounting costs of government and of dissatisfaction with administrative policies for returning the country to a peace basis. Amer-

icans of every class in society and section of the country turned from tense cooperation in the war to vent their irritability upon the Administration if, in the process of restoring a peace basis, their particular interests were affected. The Democratic Party was overwhelmed. A Republican Administration took charge of the Federal Government.

Effect of Woman Suffrage—

Although Wilson had opposed woman suffrage and feminist agitators had picketed the White House during the war to show their resentment, the outcome of 1920 does not seem to have been affected by the fact that the Nineteenth Amendment had been ratified in time for women throughout the United States to vote in the Presidential election.

Republican Administration—

The Republican Party had regained the Presidency with ease. It was, however, to experience difficulty in controlling Congress. Harding's proposals for a sales tax and a ship subsidy met effective opposition from the farm bloc on the floor of Congress and from organized labor in the lobby. The bonus bill was passed over Coolidge's veto. The Administration's tax reduction plan was radically altered and the measure authorizing publication of income tax returns passed against his wishes. A clause excluding Japanese immigration was placed in the new Immigration act in spite of the protests of the Secretary of State. From these episodes it is quite evident that domestic discontent was not allayed with the overthrow of the Democratic Party.

The Forces of Discontent—

The Progressive Party has disintegrated, but the forces that gave impetus to the movement are still at work in American society. Old prejudices against the wealthy have directed votes in Congress to defend the public interest against such measures as the Mellon proposal for reduction of taxes, which seemed to grant "special privileges" to those of larger incomes. In addition, there is

present an aggressive force. The new progressivism openly demands that legislation shall be enacted to benefit particular classes. Organized labor works with the farm bloc not only to oppose such measures as the ship subsidy bill but to secure Congressional action in behalf of their own social and economic interests. The new progressive movement does not stress the interest of the general public or the consumers, but insists that capitalists and accumulators must give way to producing classes, the farmers and laborers. In short, the aim of the movement is government by economic organizations, to the subversion of the existing political system of the United States.

Of such nature is the aggressive force that has upset Republican plans in the last Congress, that has rejected the Democratic candidacy of Davis, and, carefully avoiding the third-party pitfall, has endorsed the Republican La Follette for President and the Democrat Wheeler for Vice President. Because of this movement American politics has become more confused than at any time since the Presidential contest of 1824 when controversies raged around the personality of Andrew Jackson and the dreaded Western democracy for which he stood. Out of that situation new parties were born. What political alignments will grow out of the present confusion is uncertain.

American Nationality—A survey of the past ten years, written at this time, is necessarily too close to the events to be the final historical judgment of their significance. But some developments stand out clearly at the present moment. Never before in their whole history have the American people entered a war with so great unity of purpose and action. Never have they been so engrossed with the problems of the world and at the same time so con-

scious of their national strength and so jealous of their nationhood.

Immigration—Once America's doors stood wide for all except the physically or morally unfit. In 1917, however, a law requiring a literacy test for immigrants was passed over the veto of President Wilson. Exclusion had become the dominant purpose. The law of 1921 restricted the number of immigrants to a quota of 3 per cent. of the foreign-born residing in the United States at the census of 1910. The law of 1924 reduced that quota to 2 per cent. and based it upon the census of 1890. As the tide of immigration from South-eastern Europe had not begun to flow strongly until after 1890, it was clear that the American people did not welcome immigrants from those lands. Japanese and other Orientals were wholly excluded. America is no longer to be the land of opportunity for the peoples of the earth. The American people have determined that their civilization cannot be further subjected to racial influences difficult to assimilate.

The New Order—It is equally clear that internal forces are making fundamental changes in American society. The individualistic democracy once so characteristic of America is fast disappearing. The day has gone in which every man looked after his own interests and helped his neighbors, because there was ample room for every one. The rivalries that disturbed American society then were conflicts primarily of geographical sections. The new sectionalism is occupational, and American society now seems to be approaching an equilibrium of economic classes which take collective action to attain their ends. In the resulting conflict of class interests it has become more difficult for Federal authority to maintain the public interest.

The Crime Complex

Modern Methods in Treating Criminals Scientifically

By HARRY ELMER BARNES

Professor of Historical Sociology, Smith College; historian and investigator for New Jersey Prison Inquiry Commission, 1917; historian to Pennsylvania Commission to Investigate Prison Systems, 1918; author of many studies in historical criminology.

THE recent trial and conviction in Chicago of the youthful delinquents, Loeb and Leopold, on the charge of murder have done more to focus public attention upon the causes and treatment of crime than has any public occurrence since the trial of Harry Thaw some twenty years ago. It apparently requires some sensational event, highly charged with publicity value, to arouse society's attention to the progress achieved in social thought and practice. In reality there was nothing unique or unusual about the Chicago murder trial. More than two years ago Clarence Darrow, counsel for the defense in this case, set forth in his illuminating book on criminology an even more progressive theory of crime and its treatment than that which he expounded in the courtroom. Crimes of this sort are in no way infrequent, and though an impression of mystery was spread abroad by the newspapers, the nature of the psychopathic condition of the youthful defendants was as readily diagnosed by the psychiatrists as a prominent carbuncle would have been diagnosed by a contemporary surgeon. Furthermore, Judge Caverly's attitude and rulings, which were so roundly denounced by orthodox clergymen and other highly trained experts in the field of criminology, were in reality not an advanced position taken by a sociological jurist, but rather the effort of a benign Judge to go as far as possible in the way of adapting our anachronistic criminal jurisprudence to humanitarian considerations.

In many ways, however, the Chicago trial unquestionably possessed an educa-

tional value.¹ It notably increased general appreciation of the fact that our knowledge of crime and its causes constitutes a progressive body of knowledge which has already completely outdistanced our static or very slowly progressing legal principles of criminal procedure. It showed that even within the restrictions imposed by our antiquated courtroom procedure the psychiatrist can actually be more important than the lawyer in the question of determining the responsibility of an accused criminal.

The fact that the public has thus been aroused to an interest in the matter of criminal responsibility makes this a highly appropriate time to review some of the outstanding phases in the progress of criminal science in the last century; a progress exemplified by the gap existing between the concepts expressed by Mr. Crowe, prosecutor in the Chicago case, and those set forth by Mr. Darrow for the defense. Without attempting to pass judgment upon the relative degree of personal rectitude and legal acumen of these two men, it is not unfair to state that the gulf which separated their respective positions measured the progress which criminology and criminal jurisprudence made in the period between the days of Blackstone and our own time.

A brief survey of the modern attitude toward what is technically known as

¹ See the articles by Dr. George W. Kirchwey, in *The New York Sunday Times*, Sept. 7 and Sept. 26, 1924; and the *Survey Graphic* for October, 1924; also the articles by Dr. Leonard Blumgart, in the *New York Nation* for Sept. 10, 1924. For the need of contemporary education along these lines, see the editorial, *The Perfect Crime*, in the *Prison World*, Sept. 15, 1924.

"the scientific determination of conduct" is an indispensable and the only proper background for any illuminating discussion of the progress of criminal science in recent times. The problems of ethics and conduct have hitherto been looked upon as a field which should be cultivated almost exclusively by the theologian and the metaphysician, while ethical control has, in practice, been referred to a varying group, extending all the way from ministers of the gospel to the housewife gossips of the small town and countryside, to members of the Ku Klux Klan and to other voluntary inquisitorial groups. The progress of science and philosophy in the last century, however, has almost completely disintegrated this entire position. We have given up the notion of man as a free moral agent and have come to the conclusion that human conduct is the resultant of a vast number of influences, alike hereditary and cultural, which make our action at any time as thoroughly determined as any other natural phenomenon. The human personality, in other words, has been revealed as a proper subject for the cooperative study of biologists, physiologists, psychologists, psychiatrists and sociologists, and it is to these men that we must in the future refer the problem of determining the nature of moral conduct and the degree of personal responsibility therefor.

The theories of crime and criminal responsibility which have held the field in various stages of human evolution have shown a close relation to the prevailing state of cultural development. The first theory which was advanced to explain criminal conduct was the theory of diabolical possession and instigation. When metaphysics developed to the point where it became the dominant type of intellectual orientation, and supplanted the theological interpretation of the universe among the Greeks, we find the rise of a new, but related, doctrine of the causation of crime. The individual was represented as a free moral agent who was at perfect liberty to choose between good and evil. The individual was free to decide whether he would grant

the victory to God or the devil; and the criminal was obviously one who decided in favor of Satan. The free moral agent theory, then, was only a further metaphysical elaboration of the primitive interpretation of diabolical possession.

PHYSICAL CAUSES OF CRIME

With the rise of modern biology it was natural that the more advanced thinkers should give up these theological and metaphysical interpretations of the causation of criminal action and consider the physical causes of crime. This led the distinguished Italian physician and anthropologist, Cesare Lombroso (1836-1909), to work out a theory of the criminal based entirely upon physical criteria. He held that the typical criminal was characterized by certain definite physical stigmata, such as, among many others, a low and slanting forehead, long ear lobes or none at all, a large jaw with no chin, heavy supra-orbital ridges and either excessive hairiness of the body or an abnormal absence of hair. He was brought to these conclusions by an observation of the large number of abnormal physical types in the Italian prisons of his day. He explained the presence of these traits among the criminals on the basis of biological reversion, or atavism. These somatological characteristics of the criminal, Lombroso held, were also the physical traits of primitive man, and he looked upon the criminal as a biological "throwback" to a primitive type.

Though some advanced thinkers of today, such as Thomas Mott Osborne, deny almost in toto the accuracy of Lombroso's theory, it would seem that his explanation of the criminal is not without significance. No one who has had any extensive contact with criminals can doubt the unusual prevalence among them of these abnormal physical types which Lombroso so thoroughly described. The chief valid criticism of his theory is that it is not an adequate explanation for the entire criminal class. These physical stigmata which he alleged to be characteristic of the criminal are found with even greater frequency

among the feeble-minded and other degenerates than they are among convicted criminals. This means, in other words, that they are characteristic of degenerate human beings in general, and not of criminals alone. Moreover, Lombroso's theory does not account for the presence of a large number of relatively perfect physical specimens in our prison populations, or for the presence of his classic stigmata among law-abiding citizens.

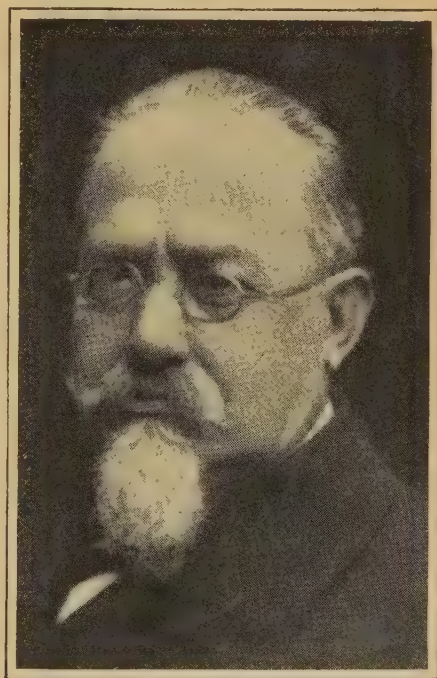
The inadequacy of Lombroso's doctrine led to the proposal of a large number of specific explanations of criminal conduct, as, for example, the pressure of physical want, the contagion of crime waves, the morbid suggestions of an unfortunate social environment, insanity and feeble-mindedness. It was obvious that all these interpretations possessed some value, but it was equally apparent that no single explanation was adequate, when taken by itself, for we have many criminals who come from wealthy homes, others who commit crimes without any reference to a pattern or suggestion, and many who come from the best cultural groups in the community and who are neither feeble-minded nor legally insane.

What was needed was some mode of approach to the interpretation of the criminal combining all these various theories from Lombroso to the present. This was supplied by psychiatry or medical psychology. The advantage of the psychiatric approach is that it is possible for the psychiatrist to take into account *all* possible influences operating upon the criminal, inasmuch as they all come to a focus in his mental activities. All good psychiatrists are adequately trained in biology, psychology and sociology, as well as in their own specialty, and are thus men uniquely fitted to investigate and evaluate the various influences which, in any particular case, impel an individual to execute an antisocial act.

PSYCHIATRY DENIES FREE WILL

The net result of the application of psychiatry to the problem of criminol-

ogy has been the entire repudiation and elimination, once and for all, of the theological and metaphysical interpretations of criminal conduct and responsibility. It has been shown that a criminal act is absolutely determined for the individual on the basis of his biological heredity, his past and present experiences, or both. There is not the slightest iota of freedom of choice allowed to either the criminal or the normal citizen in his daily conduct. Further, this modern scientific analysis of criminal conduct proves the absolute absurdity of the old notion that the degree of degradation of the criminal personality can in any fundamental way be measured by the nature of the crime. Modern criminology has shown that the most hideous crimes may be committed by individuals of high intellect, with only slight mental disorders readily amenable to treatment, while many feeble-minded potential murderers may commit nothing more serious than petty larceny. Again, psychiatry has tended to eliminate the ele-



CESARE LOMBROSO
Italian criminologist (1836-1909)

ment of mystery in regard to criminal activity. To the trained psychiatrist, as I have already intimated, the case of Leopold and Loeb was as clear and simple to solve as it would have been for the skillful surgeon to diagnose a case of hernia or a facial cancer. A large amount of time was taken up in the courtroom by the circuitous and dilatory procedure required by our archaic criminal jurisprudence, in order that the psychiatrists might expound with formal legal correctness the simple fact that Leopold was suffering from a compulsion neurosis on a homosexual basis which seemed headed toward a paranoid psychosis, while Loeb was in the initial stages of a dementia-praecox psychosis. Likewise, the famous Los Angeles Bluebeard, who had murdered his nine wives, was suffering from a compulsion neurosis created by overcompensation for his inferiority complex generated by a physical defect.²

The various doctrines which have prevailed with respect to the desirability and object of punishment have borne a very close and immediate relationship to the theories of crime and criminal responsibility. In primitive days, when the theory of diabolical possession dominated, the conventional notion of punishment was either to exorcise the devil or to exile or execute the criminal. In part, this doctrine was based upon the notion of protecting the community group against further outrages by the offending individual, but far more important was the notion of the necessity

and the desirability of placating the gods.

The next stage in the evolution of the doctrine of punishment appeared when more stress was laid upon the element of social revenge. This attitude developed in conjunction with the notion of crime as the willful act of a free moral agent. Society felt outraged at such an act of voluntary perversity and indignantly retaliated by a savage manifestation of group vengeance. Many forms of crime were identified with sin and were believed to offer challenge to God and orthodox religion. It scarcely needs to be pointed out that this theory of punishment is the one which still dominates contemporary criminal jurisprudence, however much it may be modified and mitigated by certain incidental innovations.

SOCIAL PROTECTION, NOT PUNISHMENT

With the development of the biological theory of the criminal, as set forth by Lombroso and others, and which was based upon the notion that the criminal represented a degenerate physical type incapable of reformation or notable improvement, the theory of the desirability of incarceration or segregation for life developed wide popularity. It may be said, indeed, that this theory has been definitely accepted by the most advanced criminologists of today, in so far as it is related to the type of criminal that Lombroso had in mind. This solution was based upon the fundamental objective which dominates contemporary criminal science, namely, the protection of society from anti-social individuals.

If social protection is to be the great object of the criminology and penology of the future, it becomes necessary to consider calmly and objectively in what manner this end is most likely to be realized. With the modern notion of determinism in conduct and the general acceptance of the view that the act of a criminal is as inevitable as that of a clergyman or a missionary, and that the criminal himself is in no way personally responsible for his acts, it readily appears as illogical and unscientific to

²On this point see Blumgart, loc. cit.; H. H. Godard, *The Criminal Imbecile*; W. Healey, *The Individual Delinquent*; B. Glueck, *Recent Progress in Determining the Nature of Crime and the Characteristics of the Criminal*, in *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, 1917; *Psychiatric Aims in the Field of Criminology*, in *Mental Hygiene*, October, 1918; W. A. Potts, *Crime and Delinquency, in the Mind and What We Ought to Know About It*, London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1923, Chap. VII.; S. S. Glueck, *State Legislation Providing for the Mental Examination of Persons Accused of Crime*, in *Mental Hygiene*, January, 1924. See also B. Glueck in White and Jelliffe, *The Modern Treatment of Nervous and Mental Diseases*, Vol. I., Chap. V.; F. H. Wines, *Punishment and Reformation*, new ed., Chaps. XII and XIII.; L. N. Robinson, *Penology in the United States*, Chap. X.; B. Glueck, *Concerning Prisoners*, in *Mental Hygiene*, April, 1918.



THOMAS MOTT OSBORNE

A former Warden of Sing Sing Prison, photographed in an old iron head-cage, weighing eight pounds, found by him, and wearing a prisoner's striped suit

punish a criminal as it would be to punish an individual because he suffers from some organic disease or mental aberration. From a careful study of the past results in the treatment of criminals it is readily apparent that savage punishment, whether justifiable or unjustifiable, has never served to repress criminality. The old and respectable theory of the deterrent value of punishment has been shown to be of dubious significance. Most crimes are committed as a result of deep underlying sub-conscious compulsions or from impulse and anger, and neither severity nor certainty of punishment will do much to deter in such cases. The sane method of procedure is to give up the whole notion of punishment, on the ground that it is as anachronistic and indefensible as the ideas of witchcraft and magic, and to concentrate attention upon the various ways in which the criminal

class can be handled in such a manner as to insure to the highest possible degree the reformation of the reformable element and the permanent segregation of those whose rehabilitation is quite unlikely or entirely out of the question.

One of the most fascinating and at the same time most gruesome phases of the study of criminology is the history of the methods which have been followed by society in treating criminals. In primitive days, as already indicated, the usual method of punishing the criminal was either by death or exile, the motive being in each case the desire to repudiate the crime and to placate the gods. For the less serious crimes there were provided various types of corporal punishment or penitential exercises. In the period of barbarism separating savagery from civilization, there developed that remarkable notion, technically known as the theory of the "lex talionis," or the concept of "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth."

The principle of the lex talionis was gradually modified in the direction of a general scheme of corporal punishment. During the greater period of human history, corporal punishment, together with fines of various sorts, was the typical method by which society avenged itself upon the violator of its laws and social codes. The varieties of corporal punishment were as numerous as they were savage, including such practices as whipping; cutting off the hands, ears or nose; branding on the forehead, in the hand or on various other portions of the anatomy; pulling out the tongue; gouging out the eyes; or the use of the stocks, pillory or ducking-stool for the less serious types of criminal acts. These types of punishment dominated in the repression of crime almost to the close of the eighteenth century, having been universally the basis of criminal jurisprudence and court procedure in the Colonial period in America.

BRUTAL PENALTIES FOUGHT BY QUAKERS

The reaction against the brutality of corporal punishment seems to have been due almost entirely to the Quakers, or

members of the Society of Friends. This group took its Christianity very literally. In the last quarter of the seventeenth century, in the two Quaker colonies of West Jersey and Pennsylvania, the savage European and Puritan criminal law was repudiated, corporal punishment abandoned, and imprisonment substituted as the normal method of treating the violator of the law. Difficulties encountered in the New Jersey colony in connection with organization and in Pennsylvania with respect to relations with the mother country led to the temporary abandonment of this advanced and humane Quaker position in the three-quarters of a century preceding the Declaration of Independence. But as soon as independence had been secured and the Quaker group was no longer hampered by English interference, the change which had been desired a century earlier was actually realized. The Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776 directed a reform of the criminal law, and this was practically achieved by revolutionary legislation passed between 1787 and 1795. This once more wiped out the various forms of corporal punishment, other than hanging for capital crimes, and directed the substitution of imprisonment. From the Pennsylvania innovation this reform in criminal procedure spread throughout the United States, and by 1825 imprisonment had, in nearly every American State, supplanted the older and more barbarous methods of corporal punishment. Paralleling this movement in America and somewhat influenced by it, similar changes were taking place in Europe due to the activity of European Friends and to the agitation of the reformers in criminal jurisprudence, such as Beccaria, Bentham, Romilly and others.

In the nineteenth century imprisonment marked the great experiment in the treatment of the criminal classes. Though this form of punishment was unquestionably more humane in most ways than whipping and mutilation, its reformatory effect upon the criminal classes was quite as futile and unsatisfactory as corporal punishment had

proved in the preceding centuries. The chief types of institutional administration which were experimented with in connection with imprisonment were the famous Pennsylvania and Auburn systems of prison discipline.

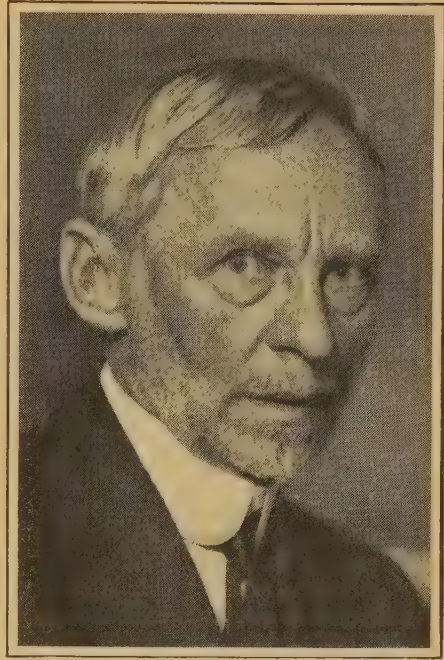
CRUELTY OF PENNSYLVANIA SYSTEM

In the Pennsylvania system, so called from its original establishment in the Philadelphia prisons following the year 1790, the convict was put in individual isolation in cells from which he was never taken, unless dead or insane, until he had served out his sentence. At first he had practically no contact with any other human being except the prison officers and an occasional visiting clergyman; he was not even allowed to communicate with relatives, to say nothing of having them visit him in prison. This was the Quaker theory of imprisonment which gained wide vogue, not only in America, but also and more particularly in Europe. In spite of the fact that it was designed to supplant the horrors of the old-time corporal punishment, it is highly probable that in many cases it begot even more severe suffering than the older practices of flogging and lopping off ears. In the Auburn system, which was adopted at the close of the first quarter of the nineteenth century at the prison in Auburn, New York, the prisoners were isolated at night in their respective cells, but during the day were allowed to work by groups in prison shops where absolute silence and non-communication were maintained. In spite of the most optimistic arguments and anticipations by the advocates of each of these schemes, both proved almost complete failures with respect to securing the reformation of the convict. Though these institutions served fairly well the purpose of social revenge, they thus failed to a very large degree to achieve the aim of social protection.

The weaknesses of the Pennsylvania and Auburn systems suggested to leading reformers in Europe and America the desirability of working out a prison

system which would offer definite incentives to improvement and reformation. This ultimately culminated in the famous Elmira system, drawn very largely from the Irish prison system established by Sir Walter Crofton in the period following 1850. The procedure embodied in the so-called Elmira system was based upon the notion of classifying the convicts according to behavior and efforts at improvement while incarcerated. Good behavior secured them rapid advancement, special privileges and speedy release upon parole, while bad behavior or incorrigibility necessitated the serving out of the entire term of the sentence with the minimum degree of freedom and privileges while in the institution. Forward-looking as the Elmira system was, it had very little effect upon the prison administration of our country. In the first place, it was rarely applied to the adult convicts, but was reserved almost wholly for young first offenders not guilty of the more heinous forms of criminal transgression. Even more serious was the defect caused by the failure to apply the resources of modern medicine and psychiatry to the problems of the rehabilitation of the convict. Knowing, as we now do, that the convict is for the most part the victim of biological, psychological or social defects, it is quite obvious that no system of classification and promotion by itself can serve as an effective agency of reformation. No scientifically minded person would hold that the inmates of a State hospital for the insane could be safely and adequately restored to mental health by a mere system of classification according to behavior, and it is equally true that the Elmira system, whatever its merits, was totally inadequate, when taken alone, to serve as an effective agency for reforming the convict and transforming him into a safe member of society.

As the criminal, in nearly every case, is defective in one way or another, it is necessary to take positive remedial action with the aim either of eliminating his defects or rendering these defects no



GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY
Penologist and former Warden of Sing Sing Prison

longer a danger to society. Furthermore, as the nature of these defects is extremely varied, it is obvious that the modes of treatment must be equally flexible and widely differentiated. In the new system of treatment the scientific procedure will be to bring every person convicted of crime before a competent and permanent examining body made up of physicians, psychiatrists and psychologists, who will be able to study and differentiate the convicts and prescribe the desirable methods of treatment indicated by the specific defects of the individual convicts. A certain number of convicts will be revealed at once upon examination to be of a type that should never, under any circumstances, be again restored to a life of freedom, but should be permanently segregated or painlessly exterminated. Feeble-minded criminals, parietic criminals and other types of low-grade degenerates or incurables would make up the bulk of this class. It is now generally admitted that

institutional treatment should be resorted to only as the last alternative, necessary as it may be to the majority of those convicted of crime. For the less serious types of offenders probation should be almost universally employed rather than commitment to an institution. Where probation results in failure, institutional commitment will probably then be necessary.

Having eliminated from the general body of those convicted the types which should be experimented with in a probation system and those for which there is no possibility of reformation and which require perpetual institutional segregation, there remains the group which, on the one hand, needs institutional treatment and, on the other, offers some hope of reformation. It is to this class in particular that a scheme like that introduced by Mr. Osborne at Sing Sing and Portsmouth is most applicable and which is most likely to end successfully. The majority of this type of convicts have committed their crimes either because of minor personality defects or an unfortunate social environment, or both. It is obvious that they can be transformed into safe members of society only by various methods of treatment designed to remove these defects. Mr. Osborne's plan constitutes the best scheme yet devised for providing adequate social education for those who have never been adequately trained in matters pertaining to social conduct and responsibility. But it is quite evident that those who are suffering from personality defects will be handicapped as participants in any such scheme unless the self-government plan is supplemented by a personal treatment of their cases by competently trained physicians and psychiatrists. Hence the Osborne Mutual Welfare scheme should be accompanied by a greatly augmented medical department particularly strong in neurology, psychiatry and mental hygiene. As many convicts are not adequately trained in vocations or professions enabling them to earn an honest livelihood, thoroughgoing provision for industrial and vocational education

would also be essential in the modern institution designed to effect the re-education and reformation of the convict. In such a system, as will be readily apparent, the whole objective of savage punishment is totally disregarded and every effort is made to secure the ultimate reformation of the criminal, with the end in view that he may be safely released to a life of freedom.

PAROLE A PROMINENT FEATURE

Though present evidence would indicate that in most cases of such a combination of social re-education, psychiatric treatment and vocational instruction, a high percentage of reformation might be hoped for, it is apparent that there will be many failures, just as there are many relapses in the case of patients discharged as cured from the hospitals for the insane. Hence, modern institutions for the reformation of the criminal will need to have as a supplementary aid an adequate parole system, which will make it possible, on the one hand, to assist those successfully treated to make their readjustments to society and, at the same time, will make it easy to bring back for further treatment or ultimate segregation those whose reformation has not yet been adequately achieved. Many will doubtless allege that this institution of which we have been speaking is not, in the ordinary sense of the term, a prison. This will be cheerfully admitted by the majority of contemporary criminologists. For, in the modern criminal science, the old prison as an institution designed to achieve punishment and social revenge, has no place whatever. In its stead will appear the institution for the examination, differentiation, treatment, segregation or extermination of the socially sick or criminal class.

It needs to be pointed out, in conclusion, that no scientific system of criminology and penology can well be established and executed without far-reaching changes in our present criminal law and procedure. Hitherto the question of the guilt of the accused has been the chief problem which has concerned court procedure, and criminal law has

been largely devoted to an effort to fit the penalty to the crime. Both these concepts and objectives are totally renounced by modern criminal science. The problem of the guilt of an accused individual is far less important than the matter of his potential danger to society. Indeed, the question of guilt is interesting and significant only in relation to this very issue of the menace to the community. If competent psychiatrists discover that an accused person is potentially a social menace, modern criminal science would insist that such an individual must be segregated and properly treated, irrespective of his guilt or innocence of a particular criminal act. There have been many criticisms of the jury from the standpoint of its inadequacy in the matter of scientifically ascertaining the guilt of an accused party, but the most serious indictment that can be presented is that the very purpose which the jury is supposed to achieve is no longer regarded as a sound or desirable goal of criminal procedure. The scientific method of handling a person accused of crime is to turn him over to a body of legally authorized and responsible experts in their respective fields, who will, if desirable, prescribe the proper type of institutional segregation and treatment, irrespective of the matter of guilt.

The aim of conventional criminal procedure "to make the penalty fit the crime" is even more out of date and indefensible than the jury system and the emphasis upon guilt. If there is any permanent and definite contribution which modern criminal science has made, it is establishment of the fact to which I have already referred, that the nature of the crime is but the most imperfect criterion of the danger of an individual to society. The "bobbed-haired bandit," Celia Cooney—the incurable moron—is obviously a more dangerous person to society than Leopold, even though she never committed a murder. The whole problem of the menace of an individual to society and of the possibility of his reformation is one which must be founded upon a thor-

ough study of the personality of the individual in question, and can in no way be determined by the nature of his crime, except in so far as the latter may throw some little light upon the nature of his personality. It is probable that the new criminal science will go even further than the present principle of the indeterminate sentence, in that the disposition of the criminal will not be left to the determination of the judge at all, but will rather be vested in a body of combined experts whose conduct and procedure will be properly safeguarded and authorized from a legal point of view.

Many conventional critics of the new criminology and penology assert dogmatically that the modern criminal science would lead to inadequate defense of society against the criminal classes, but this allegation is shown to have no foundation when subjected to critical analysis. That our present system of criminal jurisprudence and prison administration has proved a grotesque failure is evidenced from such facts as these: that there is only one execution to approximately every 150 murders in this country, and that our homicide rate is seventeen times that of England. Even more impressive as evidence of the failure of the contemporary system is the enormous amount of "recidivism" in our criminal population, the present prison system rarely, if ever, securing the actual reformation of the criminal. The new system would insist at the outset upon the permanent segregation of all those degenerate types whose reformation is obviously impossible or highly unlikely. It would provide the most scientific treatment for those whose reformation appears possible, but would grant them permanent freedom only when a proper test through parole had demonstrated the thoroughness of the cure. It would further insist upon a vast improvement of our present detective and police systems along lines like those suggested by Chief Vollmer, in order that arrest and retribution may be made much more swift and certain.

Even further, the new criminal science would probably insist upon the desirability of a general inquisition and investigation of the whole population in order to put in segregation or bring under treatment the feeble-minded, psycho-neurotic and other types likely to be guilty of criminal conduct. It would, in other words, add to the element of reformation that of prevention.

It should also be pointed out that the deterministic theory of conduct which is embodied in modern criminal and psychological science stands exactly at the opposite pole from fatalism, with which it is often confused, and is much more dynamic and satisfactory than the old free moral agent doctrine. Determinism, by showing how conduct is the result of biological heredity and of personal experiences coming from the social environment, also points the way to a definite method of solving the problem of delinquency through eliminating

biological defect and improving the social environment. With the free moral agent hypothesis no such satisfactory program was possible, as heredity and experience were thought to have no vital relation to conduct, and a person of the finest heredity and most advantageous social position might freely will to become a professional criminal. Nothing that any person could do would anticipate or avert this wholly arbitrary action. Hence, instead of lessening the degree of social protection, as compared with contemporary methods and results, the newer criminal science would actually insure a vastly greater degree of protection to society from the menace of the criminal classes.*

*E. B. Hoag and E. W. Williams, *Crime, Abnormal Minds and the Law*; A. Vollmer, *Aims and Ideals of the Police*, in *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, August, 1922; M. Gordon, *Penal Discipline*; W. H. Burnham, *The Normal Mind*; I. J. Sands and P. M. Blanchard, *Abnormal Behavior*, Chap. xiii.

Democracy in South America

Bolivar's Ideals After One Hundred Years

By VICTOR ANDRES BELAUNDE

Formerly Professor in the University of Lima, Peru, and Editor of the *Mercurio Peruano*; corresponding member of the Spanish Royal Academy.

AYACUCHO, the decisive battle in which the Spaniards were defeated and by which South American independence was assured, was fought on Dec. 9, 1824, so that its hundredth anniversary is due for celebration a couple of weeks after this magazine goes to press. Earlier in the year—on Aug. 6, 1824—the republican forces in Peru under the leadership of Bolivar, the liberator of South America, had defeated the Spanish army on the plains of Junin. The victory of Ayacucho, gained by the ability of Bolivar's brilliant young lieutenant, Sucre, completely dispersed the Spanish forces under Canterac—the strongest army that Spain had ever had in South America.

Then came the great problem of or-

ganizing the provinces that had been freed from Spanish rule. After liberating Venezuela and New Granada, Bolivar founded a great nation including the territories occupied today by Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador. The Peruvian territory was bound to be the basis of another nationality. The provinces of Upper Peru, the high tablelands between Lake Titicaca and the Argentinian plains, belonged, at the end of the colonial epoch, to the viceroyalty of La Plata, but geographically and ethnographically they were part of the Peruvian Nation. Imbued with the idea of self-determination, Sucre decided to convoke an assembly of the representatives of the provinces in order to decide on their destiny. There were partisans

of union with Argentina, partisans of union with Peru, but the opinion that prevailed was that a new nation should be created whose name should be Bolivia, in honor of the great liberator. Sucre was elected the first President of Bolivia. The establishment of the new State gave Bolivar the opportunity of framing a Constitution which embodied his political ideas—the President to hold office for life, and a legislative body composed of three branches: Tribunes, Senate and Censors. Bolivar's aim was to establish a strong and lasting Government in order to avoid the anarchy that generally followed a war of independence. Bolivar's proposals were not only adopted by Bolivia, but also by Peru, and the Government of Bolivar tried to establish a link between the two Perus, the lower and the upper, by means of a confederation that would form a great nation, just as Venezuela, New Granada and Quito formed the greater Colombia.

Bolivar, who had been elected and re-elected President of Colombia since 1819, exercised also the executive power of dictator in Peru. After the Bolivian Constitution was adopted he was practically the master of all the territory which had been occupied by his army. His dream was to unite these countries in one great nation and to establish a bond of federation or a league between the other nations of America. While Sucre was preparing for the victory of Ayacucho, Bolivar outlined his plan for a general congress to be held in Panama in order to foster good relations between the American countries, to establish a permanent alliance against Spain and to proclaim the principles of justice in international disputes. To conquer the Spanish army was easier than to organize the new countries. Bolivar was successful as a liberator, but, in spite of his genius, failed as political organizer before the tremendous obstacles; the vast extent of territory, the lack of communications, the absence of political education and, chiefly, before the indomitable individualism that animated the people. The

proposal to hold a congress in Panama met with opposition in Argentina. The Bolivian Constitution aroused protests in Bolivia and more so in Peru. The spirit of separatism appeared again in Venezuela. The famous Paez revolted against Santander, the Vice President of Colombia. To put things in order in that country, Bolivar left Peru. As soon as he had gone a revolt started. The spirit of rivalry and territorial disputes about the Amazon River brought these countries to war four years after the sacred union of Ayacucho. Venezuela clung to a policy of separation. The Congress of Colombia was again the prey of rivalries and personal feuds, and after a while the Province of Quito wanted to sever its connection with Colombia.

At the death of Bolivar nothing remained of his admirable work from the political point of view. The greater Colombia and the Peruvian-Bolivian federation had passed. Instead of two strong nations there were five petty States, victims of anarchy and divided by rivalries and territorial disputes. The prudent and conservative ideas of Bolivar were put aside to give place to exaggerated conceptions of radicalism and federalism. The federation which made the unity of the United States was used to divide what was already united. In countries without any background of political education, composed chiefly of illiterate natives, the Liberals tried to set up the most advanced institutions of democracy. The result was the establishment, under the false name of republican democracy, of military dictatorships and of personal régimes as tyrannical as the domination of the Spanish. The countries that owe their independence to Bolivar have, during the century since Ayacucho, suffered the consequences of the factors we have mentioned. In spite of some progress they are far remote from the ideal pointed to by Bolivar. Venezuela, the country of the liberator, has been perhaps the most unfortunate nation in South America, for it is now the victim

of one of the most shameful tyrannies in history. Colombia, the former New Granada, has reached, happily, an epoch of peace and normal conditions after the horrors of almost continuous civil war. In Ecuador, liberals and conservatives maintain the traditional feud. Peru and Bolivia have suffered territorial mutilations. Bolivia was deprived of her outlet to the sea, and Peru lost, with her richest province, the great position that she had on the Pacific coast. When, after these misfortunes, these two countries tried to develop democratic institutions, they were diverted into the paths of dictatorship and financial disorder.

The commemoration of the battle of Ayacucho is thus taking place in not the most favorable circumstances. The centenary of South American liberty is indeed being commemorated in Peru, Bolivia and Venezuela under the dark shadows of tyranny. Power is in the hands of illiterate bureaucrats that prefer a dictator so that they may satisfy

their appetites and remain in office. The international situation is still worse. Isolation and rivalry separate the different countries of America. There is no community of thought or purpose among them. Pan-American policy is not inspired by the spirit of fraternity, but by ideas of hegemony. The dissension and internal anarchy in some Spanish-American nations provided the pretext for an imperialistic policy on the part of the United States. The only dignified way to celebrate the centenary of Ayacucho and the work of Bolivar would be to go back to the ideals of internal order, cultured leadership and international fraternity of the great liberator. "Back to Bolivar" ought to be the slogan of a movement to destroy the conventional lies of radicalism and federalism, to fight against the petty politicians and bureaucrats. "Back to Bolivar" would mean the revival of the idea of the Congress of Panama, the union of the Spanish-American nations in the cause of peace and justice.

Chile's Bloodless Revolution Viewed as a Triumph of Democracy

By EARLE K. JAMES

The author of the following article is a Chilean by birth, now a resident in the United States. He has recently returned from Chile, where he had exceptional opportunities to study the situation at first hand.

WHAT purports to be the highest triumph of democratic government yet recorded in Latin America has been won by Chile—in some ways generally considered to be one of the most progressive nations of the South American Continent. The bloodless revolution which on Sept. 9, 1924, overthrew Arturo Alessandri as President and drove him into exile brought into power a new régime avowedly devoted to democratic ideals. This was declared to be essentially a revolt against bad government and a protracted condition of deadlock between the Chief

Executive and Congress. Though its chief impetus was given by a military group, or junta, one of the new laws to which the new Government is committed is a measure securing the absolute and permanent exclusion of the army and navy from elections and from all political activity. The military leaders repeatedly declared in solemn and official statements that they sought neither a military Government nor a dictatorship, that they had no political ends to serve and that their impelling desire was the restoration of democratic government. The leading organ of public opinion in Chile, it may

he said, admitted the purity of their intentions. It is emphatically stated that this is no reactionary dictatorship analogous to that allegedly now existing in Spain, but a Government committed to the enactment of a system of laws completely regenerating the processes of government in Chile and establishing those processes on a sound and democratic basis. Only the experience of time will prove whether these claims are justified. Meanwhile, it cannot be denied that the overthrow of the Alessandri Government and the rise of the Altamirano Government in Chile represent the climax of events of momentous importance in the history of the Latin-American republics in general and Chile in particular, and those events require careful and dispassionate recording.

The stages of the overthrow were marked by breathtaking rapidity. At 9 o'clock on the night of Sept. 8 the daughter of Arturo Alessandri, President of Chile, was married by civil ceremony in La Moneda, the Chilean White House. Half an hour later President Alessandri was presiding at an extraordinary meeting of the Council of State. At 11 o'clock the President had handed his resignation to his Minister of the Interior. At 1 o'clock the religious ceremony for the marriage of his daughter was observed. At 3:15 on the morning of Sept. 9 Alessandri and his family arrived at the building of the American Embassy, seeking a hospitality readily granted. Shortly thereafter the former President's resignation was accepted and he left the country, discredited and humiliated, his Administration stamped with failure. Thus Arturo Alessandri, the stormy petrel of Chilean politics, disappeared from the political stage of Chile with the same meteoric speed that had accompanied his entrance.

¹Though it is customary, for the sake of convenience, to refer to the two principal political groups in Chile as Conservatives and Liberals, by "Conservatives" is really meant the National Union, formed by the Conservative Party proper and the less radical elements of the Liberal Party, and by "Liberals" the Liberal Alliance, a coalition of the Liberal, Radical, Democratic and Labor Parties. Due to internal dissensions, particularly in the labor ranks, there are now some fifteen political parties in Chile.

CLIMAX OF THREE YEARS' STRUGGLE

Since Alessandri's inauguration three years ago Chile had been riven by bitter political struggles. The conflict between the Conservatives and Liberals¹ was part of the natural evolutionary process through which Chile was scheduled to pass. It was Alessandri's misfortune to be at the head of the country during this period. As frequently happens when a new party suddenly rises into prominence, the acquisition of power served as an intoxicant. Unaccustomed to the responsibilities of office, the new parties forgot their duties to the people. The struggle for power and the retention of that power became their sole interest. Promises were forgotten. Internal dissension and jealousy split the contestants; petty squabbles held up the nation's business and left the problems of the country unsolved. The better elements in all the parties withdrew from the fray. Others, caught by the swiftly moving current, were swept on. In a word, a year or two after the opening of Alessandri's Administration Chile's ship of state was drifting, it seemed, toward chaos, while those who should have been at the helm were engaged in a sordid game of politics.

Then came the débâcle. The pendulum had swung from the extreme of political conservatism to the extreme of political debauchery. The crack had been foreseen and apprehended. In November, 1923, one of the leading weeklies had published a cartoon entitled "The Remedy," which showed Congress as a squawking parrot within a cage, and a Chilean roto (workman) asking General Altamirano: "Wouldn't you, my General, like to imitate your colleague Primo (an allusion to Primo de Rivera, the Spanish Dictator) and silence that cockatoo?" The change came with characteristic Chilean suddenness of action, and also—a feature characteristically Chilean—without the shedding of blood or riotous disturbance.

Late in August the first rumblings of the coming storm were heard. Congress,

overwhelmingly Liberal, as a result of the last elections (March, 1924), in which Government intervention was so pronounced that many of the Conservative candidates withdrew from the field, began to rush through a bill granting Deputies and Senators a salary of 2,000 pesos a month (under the Constitution, members of Congress receive no salaries) and free railway travel, also creating a Congressional restaurant where members could partake of free meals. This bill was known as the "Parliamentary Diet Bill."

CRISIS DUE TO "DIET" BILL

Granted that Congress had a right to change the Constitution in this fashion—with the passing of the wealthy Senators and the advent of representatives of labor a provision for salaries would appear indispensable—the time for considering such a bill was inauspicious. The nation had been clamoring for economy in Government, for stabilization of currency, for normalcy in financial and commercial conditions. A proposal of the Government to issue 100,000,000 gold pesos (about \$36,500,000) in bonds raised such a storm of protest that Enrique Zañartu, Alessandri's Minister of Finance and sponsor of the project, was forced to abandon it. This would have been equivalent to issuing more paper money. Chile had been facing for years the problem of stabilizing her currency and restoring the value of the paper peso, which since 1919 has been at less than a third its normal value.

The financial situation was serious in other respects. The civil employes, teachers and army had been without pay for more than three months. The army, in particular, had been clamoring for attention, as many of the officers were earning only 200 pesos a month, which, at normal rate of exchange, would be equivalent to \$40, but today represents less than \$20. On this salary they had to support themselves and their families. The Diet bill, furthermore, became effective, not with the election of a new Congress or at some date in the

future, but from June, 1924. This meant that at the time of its adoption, in August, the Treasury owed the members of Congress several hundred thousand pesos covering salaries for the three months already elapsed.

Carlos Silva Vildósola, a prominent Latin American journalist, was among the first to condemn the project. He turned on Congress the guns of *El Mercurio*, one of the leading Chilean newspapers. He had just visited the north of the country and had witnessed the misery of teachers and civil employes, due to meagre salaries that were not paid. Families had insufficient food and were heavily in debt. Pawnshops were prosperous. Not only *El Mercurio*, but other papers, attacked the project bitterly. "Pay the teachers and civil employes first!" was the cry. The army continued its campaign for attention. Bills for the relief of teachers and civil employes, bills covering army reforms, social legislation and housing, measures providing financial and economic readjustments, all were tabled by Congress while its members deliberated on the question of their salaries. The Diet bill, however, passed the Senate on Wednesday, Sept. 3.

ARMY DEMANDS BRING NEW CABINET

During this session of the Senate the crisis reached a climax. Several army officers were in the galleries. Some of the Senators objected to their presence, and the presiding officer ordered them to withdraw. The expelled officers held a meeting in the Club Militar, where protests were registered because Congress refused to attend to bills on army reforms. Several personal disputes between Senators and officers also took place in the Senate.

The Minister of War, a civilian, added fuel to the flame by rebuking the army heads. On Thursday evening, Sept. 4, the President invited the officers to send a committee to discuss their problems. This was done, and the President later stated that, in his judgment, "their demands deserved the con-

sideration of the Government." At 1:30 on the morning of Sept. 5 the Presidents of the two houses convened a special session of Congress to discuss the situation, which was rapidly growing critical. The Minister of the Interior assumed the portfolio of the Minister of War, to secure, he said, "unity of action in the Cabinet."

Later that morning, Sept. 5, after meeting in the Club Militar and in accordance with the invitation extended by the President, a delegation headed by General Altamirano (whose sister is married to Alessandri's brother) presented to the Executive a list of the demands of the army, which included the following: Veto of the Diet bill; complete cessation of political favoritism and graft and the restoration of sound moral Government; immediate passage of the budget; passage of the labor bills and other measures of social import; stabilization of the currency; modification of the new Income Tax bill; passage of the army reform bills; payment of arrears to teachers, soldiers and civil employes; absolute and permanent exclusion of all members of the army and navy from elections or any acts of political nature. The clause last enumerated was entirely in keeping with the repeated statements of the army leaders that their purposes were non-political; that they were moved solely by the desire to see the country restored to normal conditions; and (in a statement that came later) that they sought neither a military Government nor a dictatorship.

President Alessandri, on receiving the army's petitions, declared that the list contained nothing that he had not advocated on repeated occasions. He requested, however, twelve days for its consideration. The officers urged an earlier decision. The President promised to give his reply by 5 o'clock that afternoon.

As the officers in their petitions re-



GENERAL LUIS ALTAMIRANO
The new President of Chile

quested the removal of three Cabinet Ministers who had bitterly criticized the army, the meeting was followed by the resignation of the Cabinet. President Alessandri then called General Altamirano and asked him to organize a new Government. This Altamirano did, including in his Cabinet Admiral Nef as Minister of the Treasury and General Bennet as Minister of War. The support of Admiral Nef was of significance. Later it developed that Alessandri's Cabinet had, at the first signs of trouble, endeavored to obtain the support of the navy. This would have

brought on a civil war similar to the one that rent Chile in 1891, when the army was supporting Balmaceda and the navy was behind Congress.

The other members of the Cabinet were prominent civilians. Gregorio Amunátegui, Rector of the University of Chile, accepted the portfolio of Minister of Justice; Angel Guarello, the first Senator elected by the Democratic Party and a staunch defender of the people's interests, was Minister of Industries, and Emilio Bello Codecido, several times Minister of Foreign Affairs and a friend of Balmaceda's, again assumed the post of Foreign Minister.

NEW PREMIER "SAVIOR OF CHILE"

Shortly before the Cabinet was sworn in the President and Altamirano appeared on the balconies of La Moneda in answer to the calls of the crowds waiting outside. The President, on witnessing the acclamations given the General, embraced him, crying "Here is the savior of Chile!" President Alessandri later made the following statement:

The belief that the present Cabinet has any political affiliation is erroneous. It is neither of the Liberal Alliance nor of the National Union. It is an administrative Cabinet formed by the President of the Republic in the exercise of his constitutional functions. The President has asked for the cooperation of six men absolutely divorced from partisan struggles with the purpose of obtaining as soon as possible the passage of the legislation that so justly is demanded by public opinion.

The members of the new Government also declared to the leaders of Congress that the Cabinet was non-political, constitutional and representative of the President, and that it desired the cooperation of Congress in order to enact the legislation so urgently demanded by the country. An editorial of *El Mercurio* commented on the attitude of the army as follows:

The attitude of the army, in complete accord with public wishes, has been independent of all party opinions. It has not acted in favor of, or against, a group, tendency, or doctrine. It has interpreted national aspirations, has understood the profound fatigue of the Chilean people, and is the mouthpiece of

those who suffer most as a result of the political and administrative disorder.

Meanwhile the President vetoed the Diet bill. The Cabinet appeared before the Senate on Monday, Sept. 8, and urged the passage of the pending bills. Congress suddenly made a complete change of front and submitted as meekly as had Alessandri. Within a few minutes thirteen bills were passed, including the budget, the bills governing the reorganization of the police system, an army pension bill and the bill granting increases of salaries to the carabineros, the military force used for the maintenance of law and order throughout the country, supplementing the police. Eight bills were passed by the Chamber of Deputies without discussion. Discussion was not necessary; that was all that Congress had been doing for months. At a special meeting held that night, the Council of State approved the bills, and they were signed by the President, thus becoming laws.

ALESSANDRI RESIGNS

Following this meeting, the President handed in his resignation, stating that as the bills that formed a principal part of his program had been passed, and his promises to the army kept, he felt that his work was complete. At the same time he requested permission to leave the country. The Military Junta urged the President to withdraw his resignation, suggesting that he travel on a leave of absence. Congress also refused to accept the resignation. Nevertheless, as the President abandoned his office and in the early morning hours of Sept. 9 sought refuge in the American Embassy—something that the Chileans resented and criticized as unnecessary—General Altamirano, as Minister of the Interior, and in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, became Chief Executive as Vice President of the republic.

Next day Alessandri left for Buenos Aires, and subsequently departed for Europe. General Altamirano dissolved Congress, declaring that because of the scandals that had occurred in the elec-

tions of last March, it was not a body truly representative of the people. The following day, Sept. 11, the President's resignation was accepted. Thus Arturo Alessandri passed definitely from the scene. With Congress dissolved, the break with the past was complete. The destinies of Chile were entirely in new hands. Altamirano had erased the unsuccessful efforts on the slate and was ready to begin the work anew.

THE REORGANIZED CABINET

The new Cabinet was reorganized following the dissolution of Congress and up to the time of writing was in charge of affairs in Chile, assisted by the Junta. It was composed of the following men, each head of department now bearing the title of Secretary:

ALCIBIADES ROLDAN—Interior.

CARLOS ALDUNATE—Foreign Affairs.

GREGORIO AMUNATEGUI—Justice and Education.

FIDEL MUNOZ RODRIGUEZ—Finance.

ADMIRAL LUIS GOMEZ CARRENO—War and Navy.

OSCAR DAVILA—Industries and Public Works.

All these men have rendered Chile signal service in their various fields. Señor Roldán is Professor in the University of Chile and is the country's

greatest authority on constitutional law. He was obviously chosen because of his ability to take charge of the preparation of a new Constitution. Carlos Aldunate was a delegate to the Tacna-Arica conference in Washington. He occupied the post of President of the Senate in 1915. Gregorio Amunátegui is Rector of the University of Chile. Señor Rodríguez is a former Minister to France and a statesman of experience. He was formerly Vice President of the Radical Party. Admiral Carreño is an outstanding figure in Chilean life. He was knighted by King George V. of Great Britain with the Royal Victorian order, and was also decorated by France with the ribbon of the Legion of Honor. Oscar Dávila is a lawyer and a practical business man.

Behind the Cabinet stood the Military and Executive Junta, composed of Altamirano, Admiral Nef and General Benet. All laws had to be signed by these three, but decrees required the signature of Altamirano and the corresponding Cabinet Secretary only.

A staggering task lies before the new Government. A new Constitution is to be drawn up by a Constitutional Assembly. This Assembly must be convoked. A new Congress has to be elected, and



Publishers' Photo Service

Building of the Chilean National Congress at Santiago, Chile

for this new electoral laws must be prepared. People in certain districts burned the electoral lists in the public squares in celebration of the passing of Congress. Reorganization and reform face the leaders everywhere, even in the City Governments. So dissatisfied have the people been with these that the powerful current of public opinion has brought about the dissolution of several of them, beginning with the municipalities of Santiago and Valparaiso. The projected reorganization affects every sphere and every phase of Chilean life.

CONFIDENCE IN NEW GOVERNMENT

General Altamirano and the Cabinet have the confidence of the people. Every publication of any importance has expressed relief at the passing of the old régime. Concrete proof of the confidence reposed in the new leaders was found in the fact that the leading banks of Chile loaned the Government 40,000,000 pesos, and that Rothschilds of London agreed to float a loan of £7,500,000, offering to advance immediately half a million. Of this latter offer, £235,000 was accepted for the continuation of the Valparaiso port works. The pound sterling the last day of the old régime was worth 46 pesos. Five days later exchange had improved so that it was worth only 42 pesos. A few days later it dropped to below 40 pesos. Exchange today is better than it was a year ago.

Confidence was further strengthened by the constructive policies of the new Government, and the beneficial decrees passed with its accession to power. It would not be an exaggeration to state that in the thirty minutes that Altamirano and his Cabinet were before Congress, bills of more importance to the welfare of the country were passed than all those that became law during Alessandri's Administration. The new Government worked and dispensed with talking. Altamirano met his associates constantly, even on Sundays. For the national holidays this year there were no festivities. The time was spent working.

Great Britain recognized the new Gov-

ernment on Sept. 15, this furnishing evidence of the confidence in which the new régime was held abroad.

CAUSES OF ALESSANDRI'S FAILURE

Was Alessandri responsible for Chile's condition? To a great extent, yes. Alessandri's principal achievement was to release the country from plutocratic influences, giving the Government a more democratic form, but after leading the liberal parties to victory he was not big enough for the task that confronted him. The people who elected him were soon disappointed because he failed to carry out his campaign promises.

The overthrow of the Alessandri régime brought many things to light that are not easily explained. One of these was the fact that among the last decrees of Alessandri's Ministry was one handing over gratis to a private individual the right to exploit a nitrate field for which a foreign concern in Valparaiso had offered £1,000,000. Nitrate fields which the old Government had valued at £1,000,000 were sold by Altamirano's Government at £1,500,000.

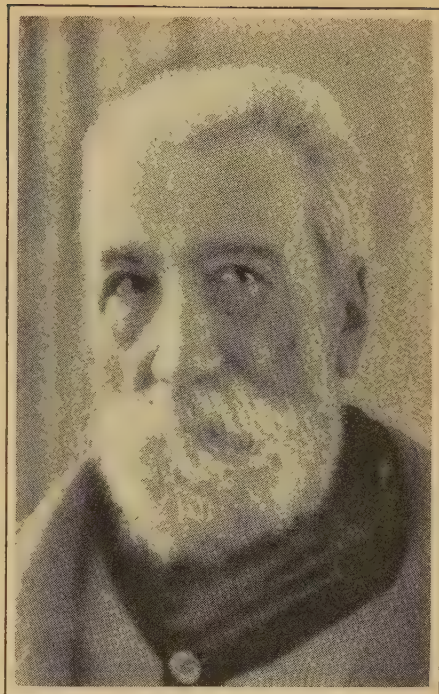
More evidence of gross political favoritism was found in another revelation. For some time *El Mercurio* had been criticizing the payment of 365,000 pesos for copies of a new elementary reader for use in the schools to take the place of one that had been in use for almost forty years. The new reader, it was contended, was to be used for only one year until something more satisfactory could be obtained. Examination disclosed that there was on hand a stock of 200,000 copies of the old reader, which might very well have been used for one year more until a permanent choice had been made.

These are examples of the extent to which politics corrupted the Alessandri Government. Alessandri, it is true, as he himself declared repeatedly, was handicapped by the obstructive tactics of a politics-playing Congress. So had Montt, Errázuriz, Riesco, Barros Luco and Sanfuentes been handicapped before him. Yet they had been able to handle the situation.

Anatole France

By ALBERT SCHINZ

Professor of French Literature, Smith College



A photograph of Anatole France taken in the last year of his life

JACQUES ANATOLE FRANCE THIBAUT, known, wherever the French language is read and Latin civilization appreciated, by his pen name, Anatole France, died at Tours, France, on Oct. 12, 1924. Born in Paris on April 16, 1844, Anatole France, who was justly described by his contemporary Lemaître, as "the ultimate flowering of the Latin genius," had lived a span of over fourscore years. When he died, after nearly thirty years of supreme artistic achievement, he was universally recognized as one of the greatest personalities, not only of his own civilization, but of the entire world. This world-wide fame, however, was based on complex causes.

Why is it that the death of Anatole France, who lived eighty years a quiet, bourgeois life in Paris, carefully keeping away—as much as was possible for a man of such notoriety—from public affairs, and very shy moreover of public honors, why is it that his death, which apparently ought to affect only a limited circle of literary people, should have been held as an occasion of public mourning in France, that voices should have been raised immediately, proposing that his remains be transferred to the Pantheon, and that, moreover, his death should have been considered even abroad as an event of international importance, somewhat as the death of Tolstoi was considered a few years ago?

The first thing that strikes people of our generation is that Anatole France entered the career of a writer late in life. He was not famous at 17, not at

25, not at 30; it was not until he was 37 (when the French Academy crowned his "Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard"), that actual fame came to him, and that writing became with him a vocation. He had followed the wise course proposed by Rousseau: Not to apply the system of hothouse cultivation to one's brain, but to let one's reason develop naturally, slowly; then, instead of exhibiting

Professor Schinz was born at Neuchâtel, Switzerland. He was graduated from the University of Neuchâtel and received higher degrees from the University of Tübingen and the University of Paris. He was an instructor in the Department of Philosophy at the University of Neuchâtel from 1896 to 1897. He received the title of Officier d'Académie in 1896. Since 1897 he has been a Professor of French Literature at various colleges and universities of the United States, including Smith College, where he has held a professorial chair since 1913. He is the author of many works in his chosen field, including "Anti-Pragmatism; or, Intellectual Aristocracy Versus Social Democracy," "J. J. Rousseau, a Forerunner of Pragmatism," "Accent dans l'écriture Française," "French Literature of the Great War" and other works. He is also the editor of a number of texts of noted French authors and a contributor to many scientific reviews and periodicals. Professor Schinz is considered to be one of the most brilliant French scholars now living in the United States.

intellectual pyrotechnics in one's books, to offer wisdom.

From childhood, therefore, Anatole France had been, and, indeed, remained all his life, a great expert in the art of loafing and musing. He himself has told us that he was not very industrious in the matter of preparing lessons or attending school; the Lycée Stanislas opened to him new horizons in teaching him how to read the classics; but even the Sorbonne apparently did not stir in him any vast scientific aspirations. When the time came for him to earn his living, he rather casually helped his father, who kept a bookshop on the Quai Malaquais in Paris. As he had some talent for writing, he came to be associated with the promising authors of the time, who happened to be the group called the "Parnassians." They, however, did not have much to do with the formation of his mind, since their emphasis on beautiful style was naturally one of France's own hobbies; but through them he became acquainted with Lemerre—the editor of the Parnassian poets—and he served as manuscript reader for the firm. Later again he became, after a fashion, a kind of under-librarian to Leconte de Lisle (patron-poet of the Parnassians), who, himself, was assistant librarian of the Senate.

What, however, to the modern "hustler" will seem a remarkably idle life, was the very thing needed to make of Anatole France the profound thinker whom we know. No one, moreover, in speaking of him has failed to emphasize the importance for the formation of his philosophical turn of mind of the "milieu" in which he was educated. His father's shop was situated on the left bank of the Seine; in other words, in the very centre of the intellectual quarter of Paris, on that Quai Malaquais on which the imposing dome of the "Institut" casts its shadow; before it flowed the historic River Seine; beyond stood the magnificent palaces of the Kings of France, the Louvre and the Tuileries; toward the right lay the Ile de la Cité, from which emerged the towers of

Notre Dame. A step from the parental house would lead him at once into any of those narrow streets of the old Latin Quarter, with all its curios and bookshops—a paradise for an omniverous reader such as he was. Anatole France was fully conscious of what he owed to this remarkable setting: "It does not seem to me possible," he modestly affirmed, "for a man to have an absolutely commonplace turn of mind if he has been brought up on the quais of Paris, opposite the Louvre and the Tuileries, and facing the glorious Seine, which runs amidst the belfries, towers and spires of old Paris."

Anatole France, however, was not intelligent for the past only. Particularly momentous problems were thrusting themselves upon public attention just as he was reaching the age of personal thinking. The Second Empire had not done away with the communistic ideas of the revolution of 1848; if, momentarily, violent manifestations had been suppressed, socialism was still brewing and threatening. At the same time a revolution of another kind was taking place. Anatole France was 18 when Darwin's epoch-making book, "The Origin of Species," was published in a French translation, and the theory of evolution, while giving a tremendous impetus to the natural sciences, also revived the rationalistic activity of the eighteenth century. Finally, in the domain of art and letters, the overthrow of Romanticism and the triumph of Realism in literature did not come about without a lively struggle.

Anatole France did not shut his mind to these "new winds." Far from it. One will find, for example, in "La Vie Littéraire" (an Essay on Bourget) an interesting passage, in which he recalls how, as a student, he had eagerly discussed Darwin and Taine in the garden of the Luxembourg. But while considering and weighing, and even waxing enthusiastic, he would always refrain from finally committing himself; for in his loafing and musing he had learned early the one thing that had already consecrated the wisdom of all great philoso-



Anatole France at the age of 43. (A drawing made by G. de la Barre in 1887.)

phers from Socrates to Kant—the limitations of the human mind. So when he heard the advocates of democracy contend that the past ages were all dark ages, and worthy of malediction, he could not help raising his eyes toward the grand structures of the Louvre, witness of the greatness of past centuries, and the absurdity of those who tried to revile them became to him very evident. When he read the boasting of the representatives of so-called Reason, who put their hopes in the emancipation of the mind and in the overthrow of all religious beliefs, he turned his gaze toward the towers of Notre Dame, which reminded him that this monument of beauty was the outcome of the beliefs of his forefathers. And when he had to listen to the assertions of modern scientists who were so very sure that they had discovered all truth and would bring happiness to mankind, he thought of the marvelous knowledge and insight into the mysteries of the universe which he had discovered between the covers of the dusty volumes in his father's or in the boxes of the "bouquinistes" (booksellers) of the quay's shop.

NOT AN ICONOCLAST

In the minds of many people Anatole France was an iconoclast. One ought to be very careful in making this statement, for one of his delights was precisely to oppose the wisdom of our ancestors to modern revolutionists. In this at least he was just the opposite of an iconoclast. Anatole France did not want so much to destroy ideas and beliefs as he wanted to warn against too much confidence in any one of them. There are very few ideas accepted by man that have not some justification; and the fact that they had been an inspiration to some mortals was enough in the eyes of France to make them worthy of respect.

Let us take, for instance, his attitude toward Christianity. His beautiful dramatic poem, "Les Noces Corinthiennes" (The Corinthian Wedding) (1876), was not exclusively an attack on the cruelty of the Christian God who accepts—or requires—that a maid sacrifice love and life to fulfill the vow of a mother to Christ; France felt the sadness of this deeply and expressed it, but he did not deny the claims of the Christian doctrine. There is deep pathos, but no real anger in the despair of the girl saying,

Réjouis-toi, Dieu triste à qui plaît la souffrance. (Rejoice, sad God, who loves suffering.)

In 1890 he wrote "Thaïs"; the saint becomes a sinner and the sinner a saint; but the human mind is such that under the different circumstances one conversion is as acceptable as the other. In 1908 France offered his very sympathetic, although not orthodox, interpretation of Joan of Arc's wonderful achievement. Again, there was no cynicism in his attitude; he discussed, but did not strike at the other point of view in his two ponderous volumes; he would not have taken the trouble of writing them had he felt that a dogmatic attitude was justified.

Anatole France has often been called a new Voltaire; this is a very misleading assertion. "La Pucelle" (The Virgin) of Voltaire is what the Jeanne d'Arc of France is not, a cynical production. Voltaire considered ignorance

or error a guilt; not so Anatole France. The difference between the two is the difference that exists between the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries; the gospel of kindness has been added to the theory of rationalism; the question of truth and untruth has become a matter of secondary importance, and the problem of human suffering and of happy living has assumed the first place. It is well to remember, against those who make of Anatole France a dry intellectualist and a cynic, that the two literary geniuses to whom he himself specifically pays high tribute, were Dickens, "one of the most creative artists of the centuries," and Daudet. To single out one sentence in Anatole France's work which expresses most completely his cardinal thought: "Human intelligence may serve us some day to manufacture a universe; to understand this one, never." (*Le Jardin d'Epicure*.)

The period of Anatole France's career in which he gave us his best extended from 1881 to 1906. In this period he produced the masterpieces which already have become classics; in 1881 "*Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard*" (*The Crime of Sylvestre Bonnard*), with that exquisite portrait of the kindly old scholar who will remain in the eyes of posterity as a portrait of the author himself.

Then, in 1894, he wrote "*Le Jardin d'Epicure*" (*The Garden of Epicurus*), which offers the best discussion of France's philosophy, as it remained substantially to the end. The leading note is pity for humankind, which has only brain to defend itself against a cruel world, and brain can do so very little: "La nature a fait le mal et c'est un grand mal. C'est eux (les hommes) qui ont fait le bien. Ce bien est petit, mais il est leur ouvrage * * * L'homme est bon parcequ'il souffre. Il a tout tiré de sa douleur, même son génie." (Nature created Evil and it is a great evil. It is man who created Good. This Good is limited, but it is his work. Man is good because he suffers. He has drawn

everything from his suffering, even his genius.)

"*Crainquebille*," which came out in 1904, may be considered, all told, the most remarkable expression of the deepest in Anatole France; nothing more perfect in style and thought ever came from his pen than this story of a poor costermonger in the streets of Paris who is the pathetic victim of inadequate laws and customs.

IDEAS OF SOCIAL REFORM

In 1905 Anatole France, impelled by his sympathy for suffering humanity, as revealed in "*Crainquebille*," gave expression to a full-fledged dream of a reformed society, of a sort of millenium which has perhaps some chances of being brought about by the socialistic and the communistic impulses of our age. France even descended into the arena, and actually made speeches to popular audiences to advocate reforms (reproduced in "*Vers les Temps meilleurs*," 1906). But this did not last long, and one ought not to insist too much on this public activity in the case of France.



Anatole France at the age of 60. (A drawing by Paul Renouard made in 1904.)

Contact with those in whose behalf he was speaking, i. e., representatives of communism and people of the "Universités Populaires" (university extension) brought him disappointment.

Even before 1906 Anatole France had occasionally felt a desire to take a stand on some public issue. Early in life he had been aroused by the shocking realism of Zola in "La Terre" (Earth); then, again, by the stupid belittling of patriotism in A. Hermant's "Cavalier Miserey." These, however, were literary feuds. He was, however, strongly moved by the Dreyfus affair. Those who want to study the history of this celebrated case will always have to consult Anatole France's "Histoire Contemporaine" (1897-1900), the four volumes in which he depicts M. Bergeret—alias Anatole France—"seeing it through." His courageous attitude in standing by Zola, the author of the famous letter "J'accuse" (I accuse), was not confined to mere writing; it was all the more praiseworthy because it was so much against Anatole France's inclinations to take part in public affairs.

Anatole France had hoped that the triumph of justice in the Dreyfus affair would help the cause of reform in general, but years passed and the change was very slow. Moreover, the separation of Church and State in France (in 1905), which was a new occasion for partisan politics to break loose, was a blow to France's optimism, just at the time when he was realizing the futility of his campaign for education and for communism. The political sky of Europe was becoming threatening; the Morocco troubles began in 1905, and this time France's generous internationalism suffered a severe setback. He had written, shortly before, these words:

Germany is a military nation. She has a superb army. She has the best army in the world. So have we. All the nations have the best army in the world. But Germany has something more. She has for Emperor a corporal, a great corporal, a perfect and finished corporal, the emperor and god of corporals, the Corporal Hohenzollern, the Corporal Lohengrin. William has the soul and mustaches of a corporal;



A portrait of Anatole France drawn in pencil not long before his death by Jean Launois. (Reproduced by courtesy of L'Illustration, Paris)

he was destined by profession and disposition to make war. During the fifteen years of his reign, has he made it? He has made poetry, painting, navigation (for pleasure), music, eloquence, flying, sculpture, theology, dancing—everything except war. Why?

The answer was: Because the growth of international feeling prevented him. Comments are superfluous.

VOICES HIS BITTERNESS

So in 1906, disillusioned and embittered, Anatole France withdrew from public life altogether. He devoted his time to writing his "Jeanne d'Arc" (Joan of Arc), the material for which had been accumulating for twenty years. But, when this was done, in 1908, as the European situation was more and more alarming, he yielded to his bitterness. He wrote three books, "L'Île des Pingouins" (The Island of the Penguins), (1909), "Les Dieux ont Soif" (The Gods Athirst) (1911) and "La Révolte des Anges" (Revolt of the Angels) (1914), which must have hurt him to write as much as they hurt others to read. But destiny kept in store for Ana-

tole France a new disappointment; the people read the books with glee, getting out of them only the clever satire and failing to realize the actual tragedy underneath; to the vital matters they paid no more attention than if they had been mere town gossip, and of no concern to them. Perhaps the World War opened their eyes.

There was, it is true, something undignified in this vituperation of his compatriots by a veteran of letters, because they had not fulfilled his hopes. But the real Anatole France was not dead; if those people whom he now professed to despise so much were suddenly faced with some great trial, the heart of the great writer could not fail to be stirred and to bleed.

This very thing happened. As soon as war was declared, the author of "L'Île des Pingouins" stepped forward and begged to be allowed to enlist. He failed, of course—he was 70—to pass the physical examination, but he had made what the French call "un geste magnifique" (a magnificent gesture), and one cannot help thinking that when he made this "magnificent gesture" the idea of atoning for some of his utterances in recent years was not absent from his mind.

SERENE PHILOSOPHER AND PATRIOT

When the war was over, the task of reconstructing a shattered world belonged to younger men. Anatole France, of course, understood this. He devoted his last years to looking back into the past and writing up his "Souvenirs." To the "Livre de mon ami" (My Friend's Book) (1895) and to "Pierre Nozière" (1899) he added "Le petit Pierre" (Little Peter) and "La Vie en Fleur" (Life in Flower) (1918 and 1922)—delightful books, full of serene philosophy, and worthy of the old sage.

Anatole France loved his country dearly. Although usually considered an internationalist, and absolutely free of narrow patriotism, he always realized

deeply that France had contributed, and still had in the future to contribute, a particularly fine and noble impetus to the progress of humanity. He was anxious, therefore, that the French people should hold strongly to their civilization; because, if they were worthy of their mission, the world at large would be more beautiful because of it. It is fitting, in ending, to emphasize this phase of Anatole France's thought, and it could not be done better than by reproducing the famous "Message of Any French Village to Its Children." The best of Anatole France is found in those lofty lines:

See, I am old, but I am beautiful; my devout children have embroidered my robe with towers, steeples, crenelated battlements and bell-fries. I am a good mother; I teach industry and all the arts of peace. I nurse my children in my arms. Then, their task done, they go to sleep, one after another, under the grass which is cropped by the sheep. They pass; but I stay to guard their memory. I am their record. They owe everything to me, for man is man only because he remembers. My robe has been torn and my bosom pierced in war. I have received wounds which were called mortal, but I have lived because I have hoped. Learn of me this blessed hope which saved the fatherland. Turn your thoughts to me, so as to think beyond yourselves. Look at this fountain, this hospital, this market that the fathers have bequeathed to their children. Work for your children as your ancestors have worked for you. Each of my stones brings you a benefit and teaches you a duty. See my cathedral, my guildhall, my Hôtel-Dieu, and venerate the past. But think of the future. Your sons will know what jewels you, in your time, have set in my robe of stone. (Taken from "Pierre Nozière" and "Sur la voie glorieuse") (On the Path of Glory).

The sons of "any French village" already know, and will know better as time goes by, "what jewels *he* in *his* time had set in the robe of stone," and the sons of other civilized countries know, and will know better as time goes by, that the jewels were so rare and flawless that all the world was illuminated by their brilliancy.

Work of The Hague Tribunals

What Has Been Achieved by the First and Second World Courts

BY H. CH. G. J. VAN DER MANDERE

Dutch Legal Historian

THE approval and adoption by the Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations, on Oct. 2, 1924, of the Protocol for Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, brought prominently before the attention of the world the League's determination to advance by definite and specific steps the cause of international peace and security. The acceptance of this protocol by forty-seven nations confirmed the recognition of a principle entirely new in international relations, the conception of basing the security of the world and its freedom from the crushing weight of armaments upon obligatory arbitration. By this protocol, arbitration was provided for every kind of dispute, and aggression was defined in such a way as to allow the Council of the League to follow a decisive course whenever and wherever the peace of the world is again threatened.

The acceptance of this momentous document may be said to mark the culmination of what may roughly be defined as "the work of The Hague." For it was in this quiet little Dutch city that the first organized movement for securing international peace by arbitration was born, and The Hague can proudly claim the distinction of being the first city in the world to possess a "permanent" international tribunal. From the first Hague Tribunal, it may be said, radiated the ideas which prepared the way for the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Protocol of compulsory arbitration passed on Oct. 2, 1924.

The stages of this stupendous development, dating from the year 1898, are now inseparably linked with the historical development of international relations. When the Czar of Russia promul-

gated on Aug. 28, 1898, his well-known disarmament manifesto, he did not thereby initiate anything original. He had been preceded by many rulers, including Napoleon III., who made three successive attempts at the limitations of armaments. Never, however, had the need for such limitation seemed to be so great as in the last two or three decades of the nineteenth century, when the competition in armaments created all over Europe by the so-called "armed peace" appeared to have reached its highest point. The burden of taxation even in this early period was considered crushing.

It was soon made clear that a conference such as Nicholas II. had in mind, exclusively devoted to the discussion of limitation of armaments, was not possible. Efforts were made to supplement and improve the program; regulations of martial law were added thereto, besides—what was then considered of secondary importance—discussion of the so-called peaceful means of settling international disputes through mediation and arbitration.

Expectations concerning the first Peace Conference, when it finally assembled on May 18, 1899, were therefore in a state of extreme tension. In the Netherlands, the fact that owing to the insistence of England the two South African Republics were not invited caused some feeling and the Roman Catholic section of the population protested against Italy's failure to invite the Pope; furthermore, the destruction of the autonomy of Finland by the Czar created a still deeper impression. Few were surprised, then, that the conference, after having made much of the technical difficulties, merely passed a resolution wherein it declared



BARON GEORGES DE STAAL

Russian Ambassador to Great Britain, who presided over the first Peace Conference at The Hague

that the diminution of armaments would be to the interest of the moral and social welfare of the nations. That the regulations for war on land were codified, and the so-called Red Cross Convention was made applicable to naval warfare, made no impression on the masses; on the other hand, the establishing of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, however questionable that court's permanency was and is, *did* make an impression. Soon after the conference assembled three proposals were submitted by the United States, Russia and Great Britain, respectively. The American and Russian plans were more far-reaching, although the former was founded on a juridical and the latter on a political basis. England confined itself merely to proposing a union which should mutually bind the hitherto existing arbitration law courts. The powers would each have to appoint four Judges thereto, register-

ing these on a list; should two States thereafter wish to submit a dispute to the Permanent Court, they might in such case select the Judges from this list. An international bureau would insure regular administration and also serve as record office when a difference arose.

BRITISH ARBITRATION PLAN

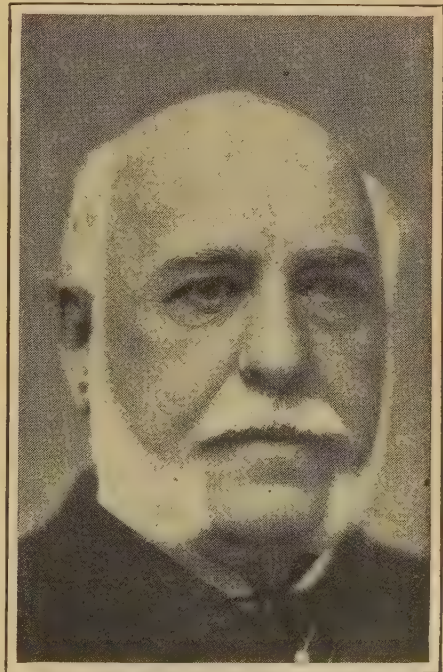
The British proposal was adopted by the conference as a basis, and, to a great extent, this plan was followed. The proposal had the advantage that it best illuminated the so-called optional system and gave the participating States as little as possible the impression of losing any of their sovereign rights. The conference then appointed an Investigation Committee, of which the leading jurists and lawyers of the conference were members, to examine these proposals; in that committee, the "new reputations of the conference," as William Stead so aptly termed them, were discovered. The Permanent Court of Arbitration, it should be noted, came into being despite the opposition of the German delegate, Professor Zorn, who found a journey to Berlin necessary to obtain authority to waive his objection of principle; on that journey Zorn was accompanied by the American delegate, Frederic Holls, who had letters of introduction to the Emperor from Alexander White, at that time American Ambassador to Germany. The trip was successful and Zorn returned to The Hague empowered to vote for the court. His only remaining objection, a just one, was to the use of the word "permanent," which he did not consider to be in harmony with the nature of this court. The court, it may be said, is still established on the basis of 1899, and its lack of permanency is now generally acknowledged.

This first Peace Conference, the assembly of which, in its international composition, constituted by itself an important event, was presided over by M. de Staal, the principal Russian delegate. M. de Staal was a man of the old diplomatic régime and Ambassador in London; he had none of the parliamentary

experience necessary for the guidance of such a conference. The recollection of de Staal brings to mind immediately a number of other interesting figures; there was, for England, Sir Julian, afterward Lord Pauncefote, Ambassador at Washington, who a few years later was to be disavowed by his own Government; there was, for the United States, Alexander White, whose "Reminiscences of My Diplomatic Career" are read with interest everywhere; there was the principal German delegate, Prince von Münster, sent by Wilhelm II. to curb members who might be of idealistic tendency—von Münster, who detested both telephone and telegraph; there was, finally, Signor Nigra for Italy, a diplomat of the old school of Cavour. Other personalities of the conference scarcely less interesting included the first delegate for France, Léon Bourgeois, hardly 50 years old, scarcely gray and then known only as one of the many Premiers whom France had had in the course of the past years. Bourgeois, by his eloquence, his energetic presiding over the third commission, which dealt with arbitration, speedily distinguished himself and built the foundation of his international reputation. Bourgeois was supported by Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, a distinguished diplomat whose death in May, 1924, was a blow to the world peace movement. It was he that proposed Article 27 of the Statutes, expressing for the first time in history the mutual duty of the States toward each other.

Eight years elapsed before this first Peace Conference was followed by the second. Assembled in 1907 at The Hague, this new conference yielded, generally speaking, a disappointing result. Instead of there being twenty-six States, as in 1899, there were now forty-five, including practically all the South American States. The discussions, however, were badly prepared and the difference of opinion relating to a number of important questions was too great for constructive accomplishment. Limitation of armaments could hardly be discussed and the conference confined

itself to a reference to the resolution of 1899. Just as in 1899, even a first step toward so-called compulsory arbitration was defeated by Germany's opposition; this time, however, Germany was supported by others, including Switzerland and Belgium. Some alterations were introduced into the already established code of martial law, but these were successful only with regard to the so-called maritime martial law. The fourth commission of this conference, which, under the Presidency of the Russian, von Martens, was charged with the regulation of maritime law, reached virtually no result on the important question of inviolability of private property in naval war, contraband and blockade. This was the more serious since it destroyed the force of the International Prize Court which had arisen from this conference, and which was particularly a maritime tribunal. The initiative was then taken by England for the Maritime Law Confer-



LORD PAUNCEFOTE

The British Ambassador to the United States who played an important part in bringing into existence The Hague International Court

ence of London of 1908-1909, but the declaration drafted there was rejected twice by the British House of Lords. Thus the Prize Court, which seemingly was to have crowned the labors of the second Peace Conference, failed of realization.

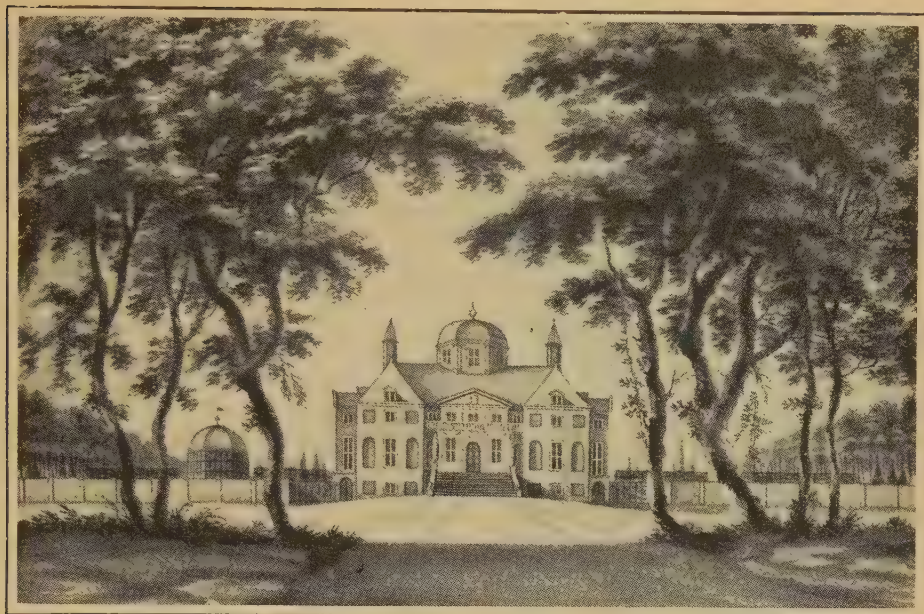
THE ARBITRATION COURT

Efforts to extend the authority of the court during the second conference failed. Compulsory arbitration was also rejected. The permanent Court of Arbitration was and is, as was afterward more than once demonstrated, an arbitration law court, having all the drawbacks attached thereto. It "pronounces justice" through Judges, most of whom are appointed by the belligerent parties; this explains why the decision has frequently been more a compromise than a real judgment. There is no continuity in the various arbitration courts; composed of constantly different persons, they do not proceed on the basis of a unified point of view. This also explains why there is no jurisprudence that can develop international law. The draft of 1907 provided for all these objections: a body of fifteen Judges and substitutes was regularly to assemble at The Hague; from among these three members, residing at The Hague or in the vicinity, were to be appointed to deal with so-called current cases; the qualifications bestowed upon this "delegation" were numerous and extensive. There was practical unanimity at the second peace conference with regard to the text of the draft, but it was of importance to contrive a system for the election of the fifteen Judges. For the Prize Court the well-known rotary system had been introduced; each of the great powers was represented by a Judge who sat for all six years; the remaining powers were represented by Judges who held office for shorter periods. This rotary system, despite the opposition of Brazil, was adopted because the Prize Court had a specific part of the international sphere in view; the plan, however, was not considered acceptable for the General Court, as this

body would have to decide concerning all interests of the States. Numerous attempts were made to attain agreement; the so-called "seven wise men" of the conference deliberated on the question, but nothing was attained. At the last moment Joseph H. Choate, the first American delegate, brought forth a proposal from which the present system of appointing the members of the court to the League of Nations seems to have been derived; Mr. Choate's plan, however, came too late, and there was nothing more to be done than to have the draft entered in the final project as approved by the conference and to recommend the study of the complete result to the powers.

This, indeed, duplicated the ineffective action taken eight years before on the question of armaments. In the case of the court, however, the result was somewhat more encouraging. On two separate occasions the American Secretary of State, Mr. Knox, attempted to bring into operation both the Prize Court and the Court of International Jurisprudence. By 1914 these efforts had really made some progress; there was agreement as regards the operation of the Prize Court; the Court of the League of Nations, commencing with nine Judges, was to be placed in operation by the great powers and the Netherlands. The war, however, interrupted and prevented this important extension of the work of The Hague.

It was quite natural that, after 1907, people should refer to "the work of The Hague," for one of the most important achievements of this disappointing second peace conference lay in the initiation of a system of regular meetings. When the first conference broke up in 1899 the delegates did not know whether they would again assemble or not. At the 1908 conference the necessity of regular meetings was stressed, and the third meeting was fixed for 1915; at the same time, however, the need was seen of a better preparation for the third conference, by means of national and international commissions. In 1911 and the years immediately following these



The "Huis ten Bosch," at The Hague, where the first Peace Conference was held in 1899, as it was in 1690

commissions were already instituted in England, America, France, the Netherlands and in the Scandinavian countries. In accord with this trend of opinion and events The Hague was established in its international position and became the logical centre for the third peace conference.

The Hague had, in the meantime, become the seat of the Peace Palace. Alexander White, while a guest at Skibo Castle, succeeded in convincing the late Andrew Carnegie of the need of a fitting home for this permanent court. Mr. Carnegie gave of his millions for the building of the Peace Palace and the library attached thereto; which, after vexatious preliminaries, were formally opened in 1913. Therein was established the permanent court which had already dealt with quite a number of cases during the busy ten years of its active existence. It had adjudicated a total of twenty disputes. Five of these cases, however, came before a law court, which, being exclusively composed of members of the court, could not be termed an arbitration court of the per-

manent court; such a situation developed when the German-Netherlands Commission of Investigation, in the case of the torpedoing of the *Tubantia* in 1916, met and drew up the recommendation that Germany make compensation, which recommendation has not yet been carried out. In these twenty cases France was ten times a party, England and America six times, Italy five times, Germany four times, the Netherlands three times, Russia, Mexico, Venezuela, Sweden, Norway, Portugal and Peru twice, and Belgium and Turkey once each.

Among the most important cases brought before the permanent court was the Venezuelan question in 1903, in which the issue to be decided was whether Great Britain, Germany and Italy were entitled to preferential payment in the matter of the peaceful blockade exercised by them; next came the Newfoundland question, which, in 1920, after long litigation, was settled between England and America. Another serious case was the so-called *Casa blanca* dispute of 1904, when, in Mo-



BERNARD C. J. LODER

A former Justice of the Supreme Court of the Netherlands, who was elected first President of the Permanent Court of International Justice in September, 1921

rocco, soldiers of German origin in the Foreign Legion had deserted, and, with the aid of the German Consul, had withdrawn from French jurisdiction; this controversy carried within it certain dangerous possibilities of war. It has been asserted that all the cases brought for solution before the permanent court were of little or no importance. This generalization, however, is unjustified. If one trace the causes of international disputes, one will find them in little as well as in big things.

ACTIVITIES SINCE THE WAR

The work of The Hague was further extended after the World War. Regular jurisprudence now furnished guarantees for the reinforcing of existing international law and for the juridical establishment of its principles. Despite the fact that in Paris at the beginning of 1919, when the allied victors assembled there to discuss the coming peace, it

seemed indiscreet even to mention the work of The Hague Tribunal, this great institution for peace soon regained its influence of pre-war days. The League of Nations would not be established at The Hague; that was known beforehand; but the court, that was to issue from the League of Nations by virtue of the provisions of the League agreement, was to find in The Hague Peace Palace a home which would truly typify peace. Before the League of Nations Council, which came into being at the beginning of 1920, had yet appointed the International Jurists' Commission, the Netherlands agreed with the Scandinavian States and Switzerland to hold a joint conference at which the general lines for such a plan would be drafted. Any one comparing that draft with the statutes in force for the court will remark many similarities; the system of appointing the Judges is actually derived from this draft, which in turn borrowed the idea from a report of the Netherlands Advisory Commission on International Law, and this report may have taken the suggestion from Mr. Choate's draft of 1907. The great difficulty of appointing a limited number of Judges to represent an unlimited number of States was thereby solved; the Judges were simultaneously elected, on the one hand, by the General Assembly of the League of Nations and, on the other, by the Council of the League of Nations, and agreement between the two bodies must exist before a Judge or his substitute can be declared elected. It was desired by this means to insure the cooperation of all States, big and little, in the election of the Judges, but to insure also a due predominance for the large States which may be considered as having control in the Council of the League of Nations. The important feature of this is that the Judges in the court are not elected by any country whatsoever, but by a certain international community.

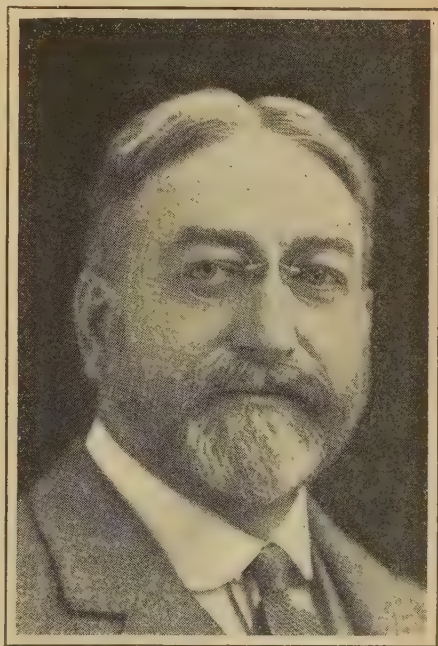
In yet another respect is there a distinction in principle between the present Court of the League of Nations and its various predecessors, the latter having

all been courts of arbitration, in the composition of which the parties in controversy had great influence. This defect is now entirely eliminated, thanks to the method of appointing the Judges; only a State bringing a dispute before the Court of the League of Nations and having no Judge in the court is entitled to add such a Judge thereto, the Judge in such case being endowed with full judicial powers. The International Jurists' Committee of 1920 would have liked to go further; the committee laid down in its draft a sharply defined compulsory authority for disputes, involving a considerable section of international practice. The provisions of the pact of the League of Nations, however, did not imply such a compulsory authority; the possibility of war between members of the League of Nations still existed and the Council of the League of Nations was therefore unable to pronounce unanimous judgment if both parties did not accept its recommendation. On these formal grounds compulsory authority was rejected by the Council and the court came into being without compulsory authority. Despite this handicap, however, which the new Geneva Protocol of Arbitration, if and when it comes into force, may partly eliminate, inasmuch as it recognizes compulsory jurisdiction in specific cases, a great improvement is to be observed in the composition of the court. Here, for the first time, is a real law court in operation, pronouncing judgment as a permanent judicial body. Moreover, since specific disputes are being submitted to its judgment as the organization of the League of Nations, the court is capable of doing what no international body could do hitherto, namely, summon a defendant before it and hear suit upon a one-sided complaint. In every arbitration it is established that a compromise expressing the agreement of both parties must precede the settlement of the dispute; for the Court of the League of Nations such compromise has automatically lapsed. When, therefore, the allied powers considered that one of

the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles had been violated by Germany, in the matter of preventing the passing through the Kiel Canal, they had nothing to do but register a protest at the Court of the League of Nations and Germany was automatically summoned to appear before the court.

WHAT THE COURT HAS DONE

The court of the League of Nations has now been sitting for about two years and impatient critics are asking what results have been achieved. The court, it is true, has not as yet prevented any specific war; so far, it has not even had a really momentous dispute to settle. On the other hand, as adviser of the Council of the League of Nations, which rôle it fills both by virtue of the pact of the League of Nations and also by virtue of its own statutes, the Court has already functioned on a number of occasions. Another case occurred in 1920, when a trio of questions was submitted



Harris & Ewing

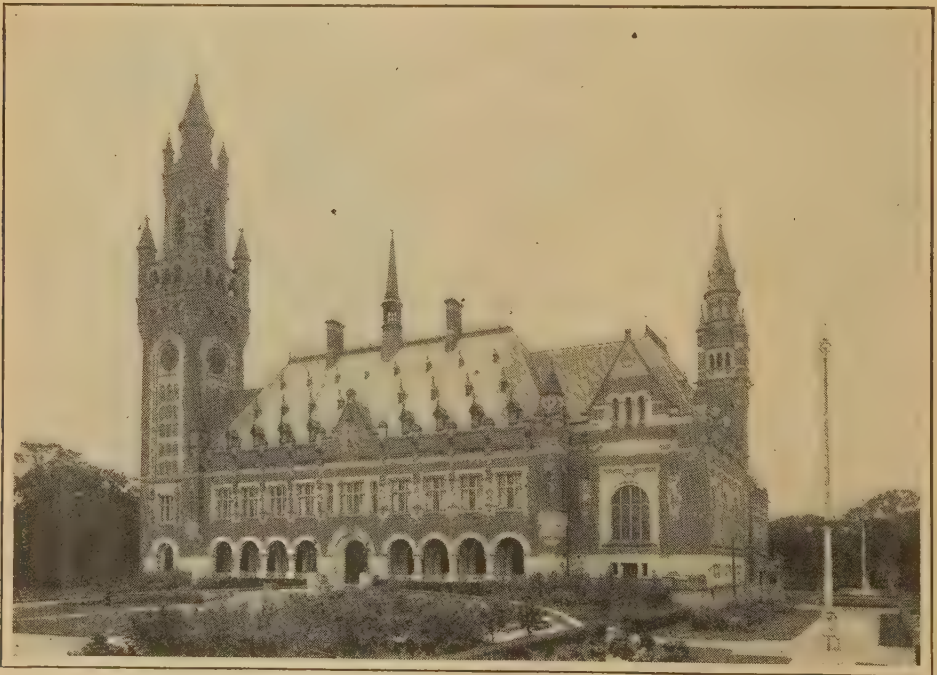
JOHN BASSETT MOORE

American jurist; one of the eleven Judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice

to the court by the Council of the League of Nations at the request of the International Labor Bureau; one of these questions related to the nomination of labor delegates to the general annual Labor Conference, and the other two concerned the qualification of the bureau, which functions under the auspices of the League, to act in the sphere of agricultural labor. Subsequently, at the beginning of 1923, a separate sitting of the court was necessary to furnish advice on the question that had arisen between Great Britain and France as to whether the dispute existing between them with reference to the nationality decrees in Morocco and Tunis might be considered as being withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the international Judge; the decision in this case was against France. This was followed in the ordinary session of 1923, by a request for advice concerning East Karelia, which ended with a nonsuit in consequence of

Russia's refusal to appear, and by two more cases successively requesting the views of the court as to the execution of the Polish minority treaty by the Germans and with regard to the recognition of a clause of the peace treaty relating to the so-called Prussian colonists now settled on what was formerly Prussian territory. Finally, there came toward the end of 1923 yet another special session at which a frontier question in the much disputed territory of Teschen between Poland and Czechoslovakia was submitted to the judgment of the court.

Was the work of The Hague, one might ask, ended with the establishment of the League of Nations? By no means; its character, however, underwent a change. The work of The Hague culminated in the jurisprudence furnished by the new court of the League of Nations—a jurisprudence that may tend to the establishment and reinforcement of the standards of international law.



The Peace Palace at The Hague

Boris Savinkov

The Conversion of the Soviet's Most Spectacular Foe

By ELIAS TOBENKIN

European Correspondent New York Tribune, 1918-19; Correspondent in Eastern Europe for New York Evening Post, 1920; Author of "Witte Arrives" and Other Novels. Mr. Tobenkin was born in Russia

THE greatest triumph in the field of foreign relations achieved by the Soviet Government in the year 1924 was not a matter of diplomacy, but of accident. It was the arrest, in the latter part of August, of the most implacable and spectacular foe of the Communist régime, the social revolutionary and terrorist Boris Viktorovitch Savinkov.

Since the Bolshevik coup d'état of Nov. 7, 1917, overthrowing the provisional Government headed by M. Kerensky, the last internationally recognized Government in the former empire of the Czars, Russia has been largely isolated from the world. There was a time, during the seven years the Bolsheviks have been in power when the country was, in a very literal sense, "quarantined" because of the vigorous Communist propaganda emanating from Moscow. Not having direct representatives to observe the shifting course of events in the Soviet empire, the Governments of Western Europe and of the whole world, in fact, were compelled in very large measure to depend for their information about Russia upon the views and statements of the Russian émigrés and exiles living in the respective countries. Of such Russian émigrés who had gained the confidence of men like Churchill in England, Millerand in France, Masaryk in Czechoslovakia and Pilsudski in Poland, Boris Savinkov was a foremost, if not the foremost, figure.

The importance of Savinkov's active hostility to the Bolshevik régime was undeniable. Onslaughts by exiled Czarist officials and ex-Romanov Generals on the economic and political régime which Lenin and his associates had inaugurated in Russia were to be expected.

Though these monarchist attacks on the Bolsheviks were followed closely in Europe and even in America, they nevertheless evoked little or no permanent enthusiasm. The enlightened and liberal classes in the countries of the Western world at no time wished to see a restoration of absolutism in Russia. It was a different matter, however, when Boris Savinkov trained his guns against the rulers of the Kremlin.

When Savinkov charged Lenin and Trotsky with being usurpers and with forcing upon Russia a régime of communism that was in violent conflict with the economic status of the Russian people and foreign to their historic genius, his charges had behind them the authority of his lifelong record as a revolutionist. Savinkov was no monarchist official craving for a return of the old order. Prior to 1917 he was as important a figure in the Russian revolutionary movement as was Lenin, and as a revolutionist he was even more spectacular. Savinkov was one of the founders of the Socialist Revolutionist Party, the party of Kerensky. He was a member of the "fighting organization" of that party and had engineered the assassinations of von Plehve, of Grand Duke Sergius, uncle of Czar Nicholas, as well as a number of other terrorist acts. After the revolution of March, 1917, he was a member of the Kerensky Government in the capacity of Associate War Minister.

The leaders of the Soviet Government, Communist circles in Moscow and the Soviet press of Russia were all jubilant over the arrest of Savinkov and over the fact that he had at last been made impotent as an enemy. This general jubilation was comprehensible and thor-

oughly justified. Savinkov was no mere academic opponent of Bolshevism. His nature was volcanic and his campaigns against the Bolsheviki, whether undertaken in Russia proper or from the outside, were campaigns of far-reaching aggression and deadly aim. At least two Communist assassinations—those of the Commissars Uritsky and Volodarsky—were charged against him, and it was Savinkov who engineered the unsuccessful attempt made by Dora Kaplan on the life of Lenin.

SAVINKOV'S WAR ON THE SOVIET

Savinkov's deadly opposition to the Bolsheviki began immediately after the arrival in Petrograd of Lenin and his band of followers from Switzerland, shortly after the outbreak of the Russian revolution in the Spring of 1917. Lenin, Zinoviev, Radek and, subsequently, also Trotsky, launched a widespread pacifist propaganda among the Russian people in general, and among the soldiers in particular, with a view to eliminating Russia from the war. Savinkov, along with his associate and chief, Premier Kerensky, insisted that Russia continue to stand side by side with the rest of the allied world against Germany until a general peace was established. To that end Savinkov urged upon Kerensky the re-establishment of the death penalty for deserters at the front as demanded by General Kornilov.

When the Bolsheviki overthrew the Kerensky Cabinet Savinkov disappeared for a time from the political arena. When he reappeared it was as the organizer of a number of counter-revolutionary movements against the Bolshevik Chiefs of State. He was the brains behind the anti-Bolshevist uprisings by Generals Kornilov, Krasnov and Alekseyev. He was with Krasnov when the latter marched on Petrograd. When this attempt to take Petrograd proved abortive Savinkov fled to the southern part of Russia and there joined the anti-Bolshevist forces of General Kaledin.

He returned to Moscow under an assumed name in 1918 and consolidated

the anti-Bolshevist forces there. From Moscow he went to the Ukraine and organized the "Union for the Defense of the Fatherland and Freedom." He was next associated with the campaigns of Yudenitch, Denikin and Wrangel and obtained for these anti-Bolshevist movements much of the allied support that they received. Kolchak made Savinkov his representative in Paris.

In the latter part of his anti-Bolshevist career, Savinkov made Warsaw the scene of his operations. From this point of vantage he took part in anti-Bolshevist movements which could not always be dignified by the term counter-revolutionary. Some of the people he employed to forward his aims were out-and-out bandits, and much of the bloodshed indulged in by these roving marauders bore the character of mob pogroms rather than that of organized warfare.

A crisp, thrilling message, headed "Official Communication" dated "The Kremlin" and printed in the Soviet papers of Moscow and Leningrad on the morning of Aug. 29, 1924, gave the first announcement of Savinkov's capture. The message read:

On the territory of Soviet Russia, in the twenties of the month of August, our secret service has arrested Citizen Boris Viktorovich Savinkov, the most irreconcilable and persistent of the enemies of the Russian Workers' and Peasants' Government. Savinkov penetrated into the country with a false passport, made out in the name of V. I. Stepanov.

TRIED BY MILITARY TRIBUNAL

Savinkov signed a statement on Aug. 21 acknowledging his "guilt before the Russian people for having fought the Workers' and Peasants' Government with arms." On the night of Aug. 23 he was formally arraigned and after the expiration of seventy-two hours, as required by Soviet law in such cases, he was placed on trial before the Supreme Military Tribunal, presided over by Judge Ulrich and two associates, Judges Kameron and Kushniruk.

The trial, which occupied two days, Aug. 27-28, was elaborately staged. The

Bolshevik Government, having laid hands on one of its most spectacular enemies, was determined to derive all the advantage possible, both at home and abroad, from this stroke of fortune. A palpable strain of connivance, too, ran through the Savinkov speeches both before and after his trial. These were utterances that came not alone from the heart, but also from the brain. They evidenced a desire on the part of Savinkov to stay with the living. His recantation of his anti-Bolshevik activities, his repeated reiteration of his acceptance of the Bolshevik régime and his urging of others whom his influence and example might reach to do likewise, all constituted what was obviously a skillfully worded plea for the commutation of the death sentence that had already come and for the complete pardon which he hoped would follow. Savinkov's sense of the dramatic already evidenced in his two novels, "That Which Never Happened" and "The Pale Horse," both published under the pen name of "Ropshin," was prominently displayed both in his testimony and his speeches. These showed quite clearly the mental processes which set him against the Bolshevik leaders in 1917 and which caused him to seek them out in 1924 and to give himself up to them at the risk of paying the supreme penalty. There were both personal and political reasons for his deadly antagonism to Bolshevism when it first appeared on the scene. The first impelling reason, as he explained it, was



BORIS V. SAVINKOV

the personal one. In his final speech to the Judges, Savinkov said:

Shall I tell you what set me against you in the first place? It was my sister. I had an older sister, and she was married to an officer. Her husband, my brother-in-law, was the only officer in the whole Petrograd garrison who on Jan. 9, 1905, had refused to open fire on the working people. Do you remember how the workers marched on the Winter Palace? Well, he was the only officer who refused to obey the command to shoot into the workers. He was my sister's husband. You shot him on the first day you came into power. After that you shot her, my sister. * * * I say never during the years of my struggle against you have I thought of this, or wanted to take revenge for this terrible personal wrong to me, for all the suffering I have gone through on account of this wrong that you have done me. * * * but it has created a gulf between us, a bottomless abyss. Psychologically it was impossible for me to step over to you across these two corpses, and I went against you.

Thus Savinkov describes his personal, emotional reason for launching his campaign of terrorism against the Bolshevik régime. His political reasons were four and he outlined them with equal earnestness and impressiveness in that last speech of his before the verdict of death was delivered by the Supreme Military Tribunal. Addressing the packed courtroom directly, Savinkov cried:

Listen to my life, and perhaps you will understand me better. I know your verdict, and I am not afraid of death. * * * My father was a revolutionist. My brother lost his life in Siberia as a revolutionist. At the age of 18 I was already in prison. I was young, very young, when I entered the "fighting organization." How does it happen, then,

that I sit now on the prisoners' bench for being against you?

It was not your Communist program that disconcerted me. I became your enemy for something quite different. It was your disbanding of the Constitutional Assembly. It may sound naïve on my part to talk about the Constitutional Assembly today, but then it was 1917. All my life up to 1917 I had given to one hope, to one dream—a Constitutional Assembly. Time showed that you were right in disbanding the assembly, and I wiped this point off the list of grievances against you.

Then there was point No. 2. It was Brest-Litovsk, the peace you signed there. I told you that I had lived during the war in France and had become imbued with the French war psychology. To me, at this time, a separate peace for Russia was unthinkable. Events, however, again showed that you were right—not I.

There was a third point—to me a most vital point—for opposing you. It was an erroneous thought that entered my mind, and that revolved about a circle of reasoning somewhat as follows: The Bolsheviks will take power for a short time and then will come a monarchist reaction. The Bolsheviks will merely clear the field for the monarchist reactionaries. Monarchism, the hateful thing I have given all my life to overthrow, will come back. The February revolution will have been in vain. Again you were right and I wrong. It is your great service that you have destroyed the monarchy at the root.

There remains a fourth point. This last went through my career, through my years of fighting against you, like a red thread. I thought: "The Reds have possessed themselves of power, but the people, the peasants and the workers, do not want them." And in so far as I believed that you did not represent the will of the Russian people I considered it my duty to fight you.

WHY HE RECANTED

Having stated the reasons, both psychological and political, which in 1917 drove him to take up arms against the Bolsheviks, Savinkov gave a fairly comprehensive account of the reasons which in 1923 had caused him to drop his warfare against the present Soviet Government and dissociate himself from the elements arrayed against Moscow. Two factors brought about his change of heart toward the present rulers of Russia. One was the fact that the Rus-

sian elements fighting the Bolsheviks were, in the final analysis, aiming at the restoration of the monarchy. They sometimes used democratic slogans and phrases, but what they wanted was a restoration of the order that prevailed under the Czar. The other was the attitude of the foreign powers with which Savinkov was associated in his struggle against the Bolsheviks. While he, Savinkov, was fighting the Bolshevik régime "for the good of Russia," the foreign powers who were helping him and financing him "were concerned only with their own interests." He was opposed to the Bolshevik régime because he believed it to be hurting the Russian people. The foreign powers opposed this régime because they saw in it a menace to their own interests. Savinkov's opposition to the Soviet Government, based on his idealistic viewpoint, was being "polluted" by the selfishness of the people with whom he was dealing. "When I was with the anti-Bolshevik elements in Russia," Savinkov testified, "I was continually running up against the secret sighing for the institutions of Czardom, the secret singing of 'God save the Czar' [the Russian national anthem under the old régime]. When I was active abroad I encountered people who long since had lost all friendly interest in Russia. I could not free myself from the consciousness that I, a Russian, who loved his country, had become a tool in the hands of foreigners, of people who hated Russia and everything Russian."

In the Summer of 1923 Savinkov stated he abandoned his activities against the Bolsheviks. Reports were reaching him from Russia that the Bolshevik régime was stable, that it had taken root in the country and that the large masses of the Russian people had given their approval to the new order. This information affected Savinkov deeply:

I took my thoughts off you (the Bolshevik Government) and turned them upon myself, upon my conduct toward you, my warfare against you. I sat in my room brooding. It seemed to me, if the Russian people were

behind you, that I should be with you, that I should make amends, that I should sit down and write out a statement to the world explaining why my opposition to you had ceased. But before writing such a statement I wanted to see you (the Soviet Government), in operation. I wanted to see with my own eyes the reactions of the Russian people toward you. I decided to go to Russia, come what might.

FACED BY EXPLICIT CHARGES

The judges did not look upon his attempt to shift some of the onus of his deeds from his own shoulders to those of the foreign Governments and statesmen who supported him as being altogether truthful. The prosecution brought out the fact that it was Savinkov who sought out these foreign statesmen and not they him. Savinkov was told quite unceremoniously that he had always been prowling about the Foreign Offices of London, Paris, Prague and Warsaw begging for help.

He was faced with a fairly accurate statement of the sums of money he had received from the various Governments which he had succeeded in interesting in his anti-Bolshevist crusades. Only a few of these sums can be mentioned here. Savinkov, according to the prosecution, for a time received the sum of 1,500,000 Polish marks monthly from the French mission for the sale to it of certain documents obtained by him from secret archives. The Polish General Staff paid him for a time from 500,000 to 600,000 marks monthly. From the Polish Foreign Office he received at one time the round sum of 15,000,000 Polish marks. He was on the personal payroll of General Pilsudski, Polish Chief of State, for \$1,500, and received on one occasion 35,000 francs from Premier Benès of Czechoslovakia. Boris Bakhmetiev, former Russian Ambassador to America, was credited with a contribution of \$13,000 to the Savinkov campaigns.

Whatever mistakes Savinkov may have made in his campaigns against the Bolsheviks, he made no mistake in his estimate of the psychology of his judges, of the psychology of the Rus-

sian people in general. In his "recantation" he said, by way of conclusion:

I ask you to judge me in accord with your revolutionary conscience, and to remember that before you stands an honest man, who has never sought anything for himself personally, who on numerous occasions has put his head into a noose for the good of the Russian people, and who gave his youth, his life to the cause of the people. Let your revolutionary conscience tell you how much I must have suffered, how much I must have gone through in order to make up my mind to come to you and to tell you what I have just told you, to confess my error. I have lived through many worse things than the sentence of death to which you may now condemn me.

At the close of the trial Savinkov made a second speech. He defied the Judges to take his life. He reiterated, however, his confession of guilt. He had been mistaken, he said; he had been misled. The Bolshevik Government *did* represent the Russian people, and opposition to it was opposition both to the will and welfare of the Russian people. He had been guilty of this opposition, he admitted, making amends for his mistakes there and then by appealing to all those who loved the Russian people to accord unquestioned recognition to the Soviet power, to accept it and serve it with implicit loyalty.

The Judges brought in a verdict of death; but, taking Savinkov's life-long record as a revolutionary into consideration, and especially the fact of his confession to wrongdoing and that he had undergone a complete change of heart toward the existing régime, they recommended that the Central Executive Committee, the supreme governing body of Russia, reconsider this verdict with a view to clemency. The next day, Aug. 29, the death sentence on Boris Savinkov was commuted to ten years' imprisonment.

SAVINKOV'S LATEST STATEMENT

Apparently anticipating that the reasons for his return to Russia, as outlined in his statement to the military tribunal before whom he was on trial, would be subject to considerable speculation, and even doubt, M. Savinkov restated these

reasons in a communication to the Soviet press written from prison and published on Sept. 13. In this new statement Savinkov said:

I know that there will be those who will look upon my return to Russia and upon my recognition of the authority of the Soviet Government either as an adventure or else as a means for saving my own life. Those who know me well, however, will know that such thoughts are foreign to my make-up.

I recognized the Soviet Government because to me the will of the people is law. The will of the people is law. This is the legacy which was left us by Radischev, by Përovskaya, by Yegor and Sazonov. (All famous terrorists and members of the Socialist Revolutionist Party to which Savinkov belonged.) Whether my nation is right or wrong, I remain faithful to my nation. I serve it. I submit myself to its wishes. No one who loves Russia can do otherwise.

When I was in prison awaiting death under the Czar I was at peace. I knew that I served my people to the best of my ability. I knew that the people were with me against the Czar. But when I was awaiting death as a prisoner of the Soviet régime, my thoughts troubled me, just as they have been troubling me now for a whole year. I kept asking myself: "What if the people of Russia will not understand what I have been aiming at? What if to them my actions against the Soviet Government will appear only as the actions of an enemy of the Russian people? And suppose they were right? Suppose, in my struggle against my political opponents, I had been carried away so far as to be guilty of working against my nation?" With such thoughts it is hard to live. With such thoughts it is even harder to die.

Just because the Russian people are not with us (Socialist Revolutionists), but with the Soviet Government, and I, as a Russian, know only the will of the Russian people, I considered it necessary to rectify my mistake by recognizing the Soviet régime.

Thus reads Boris Viktorovitch Savinkov's final appeal to the verdict of history. What that verdict will be still remains obscure. That there is in this arch-revolutionist's nature a strong element of adventure and a love of the spectacular cannot be disputed. But no Russian familiar with Savinkov's career will admit the correctness of the view that he is an adventurer and nothing more. The opinion of most Russian in-

tellectuals is that he is a fanatic and is often blinded by his own prejudices, but that he is not dishonest. This also was the view expressed by certain eminent Soviet officials after the trial.

EFFECTS OF THE TRIAL

The effect of the Savinkov case in Russia proper was not difficult to discern. It put an end to a great deal of anti-government sentiment among those classes who, though opposed to the restoration of the monarchy, were also opposed to the extremes of Bolshevism. Among these classes were the Socialist Revolutionists, of Savinkov's own party, and the Social Democrats, who belonged to the Menshevik wing of the party. The effect of the case abroad is also perceptible. The statesmen in a half dozen countries of Europe whom Savinkov, for a period of years, kept in suspense with promises of a speedy Bolshevik downfall, were chagrined and disillusioned by this anti-climax to his whole career. There was a feeling in the capitals of those countries which Savinkov for the past six or seven years had made the scene of his revolutionary activities that this last episode had made an end of the anti-Soviet plottings of Russian émigrés in the capitals of Western Europe. The *Kurier Polski* of Warsaw commented as follows: "The Soviet Government now has its most important enemy in its own ranks in the capacity of a friend and co-worker and may rightly assume that the activities of Russian émigrés against it are at an end."

If such should prove the case, Savinkov will have served the countries of Western Europe and the world no less than he is serving Russia by eliminating himself from the scene of international activities. It is not at all probable that the Governments of the world will change their views on the subject of Russian Bolshevism, but the Savinkov incident will teach them to change their tactics and eschew hasty attempts at intervention and guerrilla backfiring, based on the irresponsible advice of some spectacular émigré adventurer.

Greece in the Agonies of Revolutionary Conflict

By ADAMANTIOS TH. POLYZOIDES

Editor of Atlantis, Greek Daily.

THE Sofulis Cabinet of Greece was overthrown on Oct. 1, after less than a hundred days in office, and a week later Andreas Mihalakopoulos of Patras, one of the recognized lieutenants of Mr. Venizelos, assumed power. His Ministry was a modified coalition whose object, in the words of the new Premier, was the speedy termination of the work of the present National Assembly, with a subsequent general election so as to bring the country back to "normalcy." According to Mr. Mihalakopoulos, the Assembly must vote upon the new Constitutional Charter, revise the electoral lists, pass the most important measures regarding the refugee problem, and dissolve. The new Cabinet made its appearance before the Assembly on Oct. 15 and received a vote of confidence, 203 voting for it, and 92 against it. The fact that Mr. Mihalakopoulos, shortly after that vote, was taken ill, prevented the Assembly from functioning and the people at large from expressing an opinion about the policy of the new Government.

What, however, appears to be the chief characteristic of the Greek political situation for the last two years, is the fact that never before in the hundred years' history of the Greek nation have there been so many and so frequent political crises and upheavals as during the period between September, 1922, and November, 1924. In less than twenty-five months seven Ministerial changes took place, with an average of a little more than three months for each Cabinet.

The first of these Cabinets was led by the late Soterious Krokidas, who formed a Ministry as soon as the military revolution of Sept. 26, 1922, took possession of Athens. His successor was Colonel Stylien Gonatas, originator of

the revolutionary Triumvirate formed by Gonatas, Plasteras and Fokas. Gonatas became Premier in the latter part of November, 1922, after a revolutionary court-martial had pronounced sentence of death on the former Premiers, Demetrios Gounaris, Nicholas Stratos and Petros Protapapadakis; the former Ministers, Nicholas Theotokis and George Baltadgis, and the ex-Generalissimo, George Hadjanestis, all of whom were held responsible for the military disaster in Asia Minor. Krokidas was against that death sentence; that is why he resigned and that is why Colonel Gonatas became Premier, in view of the fact that no civilian statesman willing to assume responsibility for the sextuple political crime represented by the execution of the former Premiers could be found at that time in Athens.

Gonatas held office up to the end of 1923. Greece passed through a régime of terror unprecedented in the annals of her history. At last a general election had to be called. The country could not go on under a military régime. The elections were held on Dec. 16, 1923, after the revolutionary Government had so modified the electoral law as to secure a one-sided verdict. It was the Venizelist Party that engineered the revolution in 1922. The same party wanted to maintain control at any price. This explains why the electoral law was modified in such a way as to make it impossible for the anti-Venizelists to secure their legitimate number of representatives. The anti-Venizelist Opposition Party made a futile protest, after which it decided to abstain from voting on election day.

In this way only Venizelists participated in the election of Dec. 16, 1923, the result of which was a so-called National Assembly made up of 399 del-

legates, not a single one of whom was an anti-Venizelist. Although these delegates belonged to the main Liberal Venizelist Party, they were nevertheless divided into three smaller factions known respectively as Progressive Liberals, Republican Liberals and United Republicans. Of these three factions, the first, under the leadership of George Kafandaris, was known to favor the retention of the monarchy, on condition of a stricter parliamentary control; the other two were openly anti-dynastic and uncompromisingly Republican. The three Venizelist factions fared in the election approximately as follows: two hundred and fifty favoring the retention of the monarchy were returned, as against one hundred and forty-nine favorable to the republic. The one hundred and forty-nine, however, were mostly military men, in control of the army and navy, while the two hundred and fifty were mostly civilians, thoroughly intimidated by the display of military force.

THE KING'S DEPARTURE

When this situation is once explained, one can easily understand why, on the day following the general election, a group of officers, led by General George Kondylis and Theodore Pangalos, presented a demand that the King and his wife, Queen Elizabeth, should immediately depart, in order to leave the Greek people "free" to decide on the form of their future Government. In view of the determined attitude of this small but well armed, well organized and well disciplined, group of military men, King George II. had no choice left. He therefore abandoned Greece and betook himself to Rumania, there to await the dawn of better days.

The departure of the King left Greece in a turmoil. Admiral Paul Koundouriotis was appointed regent, all opposition to the activities of the military league was ruthlessly crushed and the so-called National Assembly was called together on Jan. 1, 1924.

It was then that Eleutherios K. Venizelos, who had been elected from ten

different constituencies throughout the country, returned to Greece, following an invitation signed by 300 Delegates of the Assembly, who pledged him their support. Mr. Venizelos was almost unanimously elected President of the National Assembly, with full powers to act in the national emergency. The Military League, however, fearing that it would be dangerous to concentrate so much power in the hands of a single man, refused to recognize its former leader as dictator. Venizelos, for the first time in his career, had to give way; he resigned the Presidency of the Assembly and took over the Premiership. He then discovered that his party was getting out of control, and that to bring it back under the leash the cooperation of the anti-Venizelist elements was essential. Venizelos made the first overtures to the bitterest of his enemies, in order to secure their support against his former friends.

He began by declaring that the expulsion of the King by a small group of officers, before the National Assembly could convene, was an insult both to the people and to the Constitution. The militarists gnashed their teeth, but suffered the blow in silence. Next, Venizelos called together the anti-Venizelist leaders who had refused to take part in the December election. Out of a total number of fourteen invited to the conference, less than half took the trouble of meeting their mortal enemy, and these made it quite plain that nothing could be accomplished in the way of a reconciliation unless the King were invited to return and the illegally elected Assembly dissolved forthwith. This Venizelos, with his rapidly waning popularity, could not accomplish. He resigned the Premiership and George Kafandaris came to power. Suspected of conspiring with Kafandaris to do away with the Military League, Venizelos a few days later was peremptorily ordered by the League to leave Greece within forty-eight hours. This he did, while the people at large were still under the impression that his sudden abandonment of politics was due to a severe illness. His departure from

Greece was witnessed by only a dozen people, while any demonstration in his favor was strictly forbidden by the military. This was early in March, 1924. The Kafandaris Cabinet was overthrown shortly afterward, and Alexander Papanastassiou, a Social-Democrat of the German school and a man thoroughly approved by the Military League of Kondylis and Pangalos, was forced upon the so-called National Assembly, and proceeded to the proclamation of the republic on March 25, the one hundred and third anniversary of Greek independence.

PROCLAMATION OF REPUBLIC.

Three weeks later the people were called to express an opinion on the change of régime. The same machinery of Dec. 16, 1923, was put in motion, the same restrictions were imposed on the Royalists, and the republic won. Under these circumstances no man in his senses could reasonably contend that the Greek Republic was either the outcome of a popular vote or the expression of a national desire. It was foisted upon the Greek people by the power and trickery of an organized military oligarchy, masquerading under the cloak of republicanism. Subsequent events demonstrated clearly the weakness of the new régime.

The anti-Venizelist parties, excluded from the illegally elected "National Assembly," put no obstacles in the way of the republic. Even had they wanted to create difficulties, they were powerless to do so, as those in power had already taken all measures for self-preservation.

Large numbers of Venizelists, however, were not satisfied with the new conditions. The reason for their disappointment was not difficult to find. In a Venizelist Government, under a Venizelist régime, there was not enough room to accommodate all the Venizelists, who now had an entire National Assembly all to themselves. The ministerial portfolios, the high positions in the army, the many and various governmental offices and jobs were insuf-

ficient to satisfy all the claimants. Serious friction began to appear, first in the army and then in the other branches of Government service. The publication of a list of military promotions from which the names of General Tricoupis and General Mazarakis, both ardent Venizelists, were excluded, revealed a serious rift within the ranks of the Venizelists.

FALL OF PAPANASTASSIOU.

The two generals who were thus slighted were both brilliant officers who had been in the thick of the fighting during most of the preceding ten years. General Tricoupis, who had suffered the misfortune of being surrounded and captured by the Turkish troops in the course of the Asia Minor disaster, was not a man to swallow an insult from General Kondylis, the Minister of War, who was responsible for the list of promotions from which Tricoupis's name was omitted. Kondylis was a "stay-at-home" from December, 1920, to the end of 1922, and he was among the leaders of the 200 and more officers and 800 men who deserted from the ranks and went to Constantinople rather than serve under the régime of Constantine.

Tricoupis, therefore, gave out a report in which he accused the leaders of the revolution of 1922 of having deliberately abandoned their positions on the Afion Kara Hissar front in August, 1922, thus opening a breach through which Mustapha Kemal, the Turkish leader, sent in his encompassing armies. Colonel Gonatas and Colonel Plasteras were named specifically by Tricoupis, who requested that he be called before a court-martial to prove his assertions. On the other hand, General Mazarakis accused Kondylis for his open defeatist propaganda which had been carried on from Constantinople during the years of 1921 and 1922 and which had had a great deal to do with the subsequent demoralization of the Greek troops at the front.

These revelations fell like a bomb-shell in Athens and shook the Papanastassiou Ministry and the republican ré-

gime to its very foundations. The Opposition newspapers came out boldly against the "fugitives" of Asia Minor, who, instead of being court-martialed, were covered with honors. Others demanded that Gonatas, Plasteras and Kondylis be tried for high treason.

The most significant result of this dissension within the Venizelist ranks was the discredit cast upon the Military League, which had made the revolution of 1922 and forced the republic of 1924 upon the people. A minor anti-governmental outbreak in the navy completed the sad plight of the régime. It was thought that the time was ripe for the overthrow of the military clique and the restoration of civil Government. Kafandaris, as leader of the conservative Venizelist faction, attempted to do this, and he succeeded in overthrowing the Papanastassiou Cabinet late last June. Sofulis became a compromise Premier, charged to conduct the Government's business through the Summer vacation period. His Government was overthrown before the advent of Autumn.

If the months of May and June, 1924, were the months of military revelations that sapped Venizelism to its foundations, the months of the Sofulis administration were those of wholesale graft and wholesale looting of the Public Treasury. Scandal after scandal was revealed in the daily press, accusation after accusation was piled high on the heads of the most prominent governmental and other officials, all of whom were Venizelists, inasmuch as no anti-Venizelist was left in any official or other position after the revolution of 1922.

1922 REVOLUTION DISCREDITED

What was the result of all this in the middle of October, 1924, when these pages were written? The 1922 revolution was entirely discredited, to the extent that even those who made it did not have the courage to affront the people by celebrating its second anniversary, although earlier in the season it had been announced that such a celebra-

tion of the "rebirth of Greece" was to take place with all due pomp and circumstance.

According to information cabled to New York on Oct. 2, the Venizelist Assembly was made up of the following factions and respective number of followers: Papanastassiou, 141; Kafandaris, 90; Mihalakopoulos, 52; Kondylis, 50; Sofulis, 15; Gonatas, 7, making a total of 325. In addition there were 44 unattached, independent and other nondescript delegates who were waiting for a chance to join the first Cabinet to be formed, in consideration of certain well-defined favors. There were 30 absentees from the Assembly through death, illness and other disabilities.

Whoever may succeed in forming a Cabinet of any permanency will not solve the riddle of the complicated political and financial situation of Greece. For the last ten years this writer, among many others, has tried to explain that the Venizelist party was and still is a minority in Greece. It is a well-organized, bold, arrogant and harsh minority. It is a minority that cannot come to power by legal and regular means. This minority was changed into a real majority only twice: first in the 1910 election and again in the election of 1915. On all other occasions Venizelism was imposed on the Greek people by force, intrigue and fraud.

The Venizelist revolution in Therisso, Crete, in 1905, the Venizelist revolution in Saloniki in 1916, the Venizelist revolution in Mytilene in 1922, the dictatorship of Venizelos from 1917 to 1920, his stubborn refusal to call a general election after the two dethronements of Constantine, his absolute need of a highly paid and most efficiently organized propaganda to maintain the illusion of his popularity, all these well-established proofs showed that Venizelism constituted a minority in Greece. The native population of Greece was always against him. The Greek populations of Turkey, who were more exposed to his ingenious propaganda, were for him as long as they did not know the other side of the picture, but since 1922, with the

transfer of these Greek populations to Greece, their sentiments changed, and their psychology became akin to that of their brethren of the free soil of the Greek State.

So much then for the popularity of Venizelism, which survived as a dogma and as a set of principles, irrespective of the fact that Venizelos himself remained aloof. If it were not paradoxical I would venture to say that Venizelos himself has ceased lately to be a Venizelist.

PASSING OF VENIZELISM

These are, then, the aspects of the political question of Greece. They illustrate the final stages of the passing of the Liberal Party, which is today abhorred and detested by even its former most ardent supporters. Venizelism has passed, leaving behind it a legacy of disrespect for everything that stood high in the conscience of the Greek people. The overthrow of the dynasty shattered the great dream of Byzantine redemption. The overthrow of the Constitution and the summary abrogation of any and all laws brought into contempt every law and every tradition of the people. Assuming that Greece under Constantine was an Eastern European Prussia, which it was not, Venizelos transformed it into a Guatemala and a Nicaragua. The political murders of November, 1922, created an atmosphere of bitterness in Greece, which it will take generations to efface. The refusal of Venizelism to let the remains of King Constantine be buried between the graves of his father, George I., and his son Alexander resulted in sanctifying that most maligned of all Kings.

Greece harbors at the present time more than 1,000,000 refugees, who constitute a problem of tremendous magnitude. The Venizelist factions in power since 1922 looted the moneys assigned to the refugees' needs and applied only a small fraction of the cost of settling these refugees upon Greek soil. Ugly stories of mismanagement and graft occupy the pages of the Athens press, irrespective of party affiliations. Scandal

after scandal is being discovered, after the guilty have conveniently fled.

The exchange of populations, already referred to, between Greece and Turkey, initiated by Venizelos in 1914, and put into execution in 1922 under the most terrible circumstances for Greece, may be considered the greatest crime of Venizelos's whole political career. An International Commission for the Settlement of the Greek Refugees in Greece was created at Geneva in 1923, and sanctioned by the Venizelist Government. This commission asked and obtained from the Greek Government an area of 5,000,000 acres of land, which the Government promised to give, although it knew that it did not have that much land to give away. The International Commission secured from the League of Nations a recommendation for the grant to Greece of a \$50,000,000 loan to help settle the refugees. Under the terms of the agreement, the Greek Government pledged most of its resources for the service of this loan. The terms of the Geneva protocol are such, indeed, that not even Venizelos dared support it, while the so-called National Assembly resolutely opposed it. Objections have even been voiced against it by the refugees themselves. No loan to Greece will be binding on the Greek people as long as a legally and constitutionally elected National Assembly does not pass on it. In the meantime the elections are being continuously postponed, because Venizelism is afraid of the people.

The question of the monarchy requires some elucidation. The Greeks, who have enjoyed all the blessings of a nearly unlimited political liberty under the dynasty of George I. can hardly recognize the present tyrannical oligarchy as a real republic. Venizelism destroyed the monarchy, but it sapped the foundations of the republic as well. The Greek people in studying their history are more impressed by the thousand years of the doings of their Christian Byzantine dynasties than by the distant glories of the short-lived Periclean republic, so abruptly ended in the strife and blood of the fratricidal Pelo-

ponnesian war. The late King Constantine was and has remained a great figure in the hearts of his countrymen.

The real tragedy of Greece in the last ten years was this: That the genuinely republican, popular, constitutional and orderly elements of the nation were led by an almost socialistic King, while the forces of autocracy, tyranny, oppression, violence and disorder had as their standard bearer an absolutist and oligarchic demagogue.

OLIGARCHY IN DEATH STRUGGLE

With Constantine dead and Venizelos forcibly removed from the political arena by his own followers and former admirers, the struggle in Greece narrowed down to a long and stubborn trench warfare between an oligarchy tenaciously holding to power and trying by every means to delay its inevitable fall, and the large majority of the people, who were tired of these endless crises and upheavals and who longed to see the last of all this turmoil.

The epigones of Venizelos, whether they be called Liberals, Revolutionaries of 1922, Democratic Unionists, Progressive Liberals or Liberal Republicans, were, by virtue of their numbers, a minority, and all they desired was to perpetuate their collective régime. They succeeded in doing this by armed violence, by falsifying the electoral lists, by foisting on the country an iniquitous electoral law, by disfranchising thousands of soldier-citizens and by making lavish use of martial law, terrorism and censorship. Though they had a free hand in running the Government, they made a failure of everything they attempted and they missed their great opportunity of rendering the country a patriotic and constructive service in the period immediately succeeding a disastrous war. As a logical consequence they lost ground, having shown their utter incapacity to extricate Greece from her difficulties.

Against this oligarchy stood, and stands today, bitter and irreconcilable, the overwhelming majority of the people, led by the numerous lieutenants of the political leaders murdered on Nov. 28, 1922, by the "Revolutionaries of 1922." More particularly this opposition of the Greek people against the present régime has been led by General Ioannis Metaxas, who was Chief of Staff of the Hellenic armies in the victorious Balkan wars and a staunch opponent of the Asia Minor adventure. Metaxas is one of the best army men in all Europe. In the last two years he proved himself to be a statesman of rare ability and driving power. As the leader of the Party of Freedom, he built up a very good organization on the American model, in which he enrolled all the younger and active elements of the country's political life. He made no issue either of the royalist or the republican cause; he accepted the republic as a matter of form, but he insisted that the Greek people be as free in practice as they were in name. He wanted a free, genuine, constitutional election and he promised to abide by its result. He has a large following even among those elements who followed Mr. Venizelos in the past and who became disillusioned after their former leader's inglorious flight from Athens last March. Many people in Greece, while waiting to see what the Mihalakopoulous Cabinet will accomplish (or not accomplish), believe that Metaxas is the rising star on the Greek political horizon.

The question: "Will the monarchy ever be restored in Greece?" means little to the average Greek. The King is a form and the Greek people seek the substance, expressed in a question differently couched: "Will popular government ever be restored in Greece?" Time will prove whether I am, or am not, right when I answer this question by an emphatic yes.

America's Aid to 1,000,000 Near East Refugees

By H. C. JAQUITH

Director of the Near East Relief in Greece and Turkey

ASHIFTING of populations unprecedented in history and accompanied by profound social changes is taking place today on the shores of the Mediterranean. This movement is comparable to the smaller mass migrations of the Middle Ages that created the foundations of the world in which we lived before the war. But the situation today seems even more interesting because of two unprecedented factors—the Westernization of an Asiatic people and the extragovernmental action of the American people in international affairs.

It was the power of an idea that carried the Mongolians irresistibly over Western Asia, Northern Africa and across Europe to the gates of Vienna and the barrier of the Pyrenees 600 years ago; it was an Eastern idea, a religious idea, a vision of the world conquered and united by Islam. Another idea carried an obscure provincial subject of a defeated nation—Mustapha Kemal—victoriously to Lausanne two years ago. This time it was a Western idea—nationalism. In three years it has united and inspired the Turkish people, has carried them to brilliant military success, has thrown off religious domination with the abolition of the Caliphate, and has substituted an aggressive, democratic, nationalistic spirit for the old Eastern, autocratic, religious spirit of Turkey.

Among the first immediate effects of this change in Turkey was the bringing of 10,000,000 Americans into international affairs through an extragovernmental agency, the Near East Relief. The position of this organization is unique. Groups of Americans have long maintained organizations abroad; commercial organizations, such as the

Standard Oil and the American Tobacco Company; humanitarian relief organizations, the Red Cross, the Friends, the Y. M. C. A. and many others. But the exigencies of the situation in the Near East have made the Near East Relief almost a nation in itself—a nation without a country, a power without an army, a responsibility without any tangible resources, a weight in international councils. The mere creation and existence of this organization, with its influence as a factor in the Near Eastern situation, have made it important in any consideration of that situation.

Following the destruction of Smyrna and the victorious march of Mustapha Kemal back into Europe more than a million Greeks, nearly one-fifth of the population of Turkey in Asia, became refugees on the seacoasts. Their claim upon Greece was small; their ancestors had inhabited Asia Minor before the Golden Age of Athens. Greece itself, while Smyrna was burning, was in the throes of revolution. These million Greeks were caught between the sea and the victory-intoxicated Turks, not yet controlled by army or Government and blood-mad with their new cry, "Turkey for the Turks!" and their fresh memories of atrocities committed by the routed Greek invaders. A massacre which would have appalled the imagination of the world was imminent. It was prevented by the quick action of Americans on the ground, protected by the United States Navy, and using Greek ships obtained amid the turmoil of the revolution in Athens. The million Greeks of Anatolia were hastily flung across the Aegean and strewn upon the coast of Greece and the Greek islands. They had their lives and absolutely



H. C. JAQUITH

Director of the Near East Relief in Greece and Turkey

nothing more, not even a language which was understood in Greece. America fed them, awaiting the results of the Lausanne Conference.

Turkey went to Lausanne backed by a victorious army of 200,000 soldiers. Greece had only its refugees, mostly women and children. Ismet Pasha was full of the new nationalism of "Turkey for the Turks!" Venizelos was desperately seeking a solution for the problem of the refugees and for the Macedonian question. The European powers were anxious to call a truce to the three years of struggle in the Near East, which had brought them nothing but debts and increasing discontent at home. The conference produced a treaty into which was written a short clause providing for "exchange of populations," which exiled all remaining Greeks in Turkey, except those residing in Constantinople before 1918, and all Moslems in Greece save those in Western Thrace. By this clause 1,500,000 human beings were made homeless. A commission composed of four Turks, four Greeks and three neutrals from nations not in the World War was provided to carry out the plan. The uncompleted task for

this commission was to transfer 150,000 remaining Greeks from Turkey to Greece and 400,000 Moslems from Greece to Turkey.

REFUGEES' HARDSHIPS

The Lausanne Conference had opened in January, 1923. Two-thirds of the former Greeks of Turkey were already in Greece, crowded into old army barracks, tents, abandoned warehouses, theatres, basements, dying of typhus, smallpox and exhaustion, being deloused, fed, carried to hospitals or graveyards as rapidly as possible. The Lausanne Treaty was not ratified until July, 1923.

In September the commission had not yet been formed. Winter was approaching. Greek refugees still in Turkey pleaded for help. Moslems in Greece, awaiting dispossession, had planted no crops and faced starvation. Conditions were reaching a breaking point. Both Greek and Turkish Governments begged the American organization to act without waiting any longer for the commission. The Near East Relief in consequence actually began the exchange of populations in October.

Eight thousand Moslems from Mitylene, the Greek island near the Anatolian coast, were the first to be taken. A committee was formed, consisting of the Greek Governor of the island, the Moslem Mufti, and one American. Debarkation points were selected, dates of sailings listed, police forces trebled and sub-committees appointed in every village. Then the Moslem population was notified. Only those who have seen it can realize the cruelty, relentless as that of war itself, and more cold-blooded, which underlies the forcible expulsion of contented families from their homes and the abandoning of them in a strange place far away. They were allowed to take anything they could carry, and to

drive their stock. The little coastwise steamers were crowded with these families, their pitiful bundles, their sheep, goats, donkeys. Children clutched their pets, a cat, a bird. The old and the sick were carried on board. The first ship cleared from Mitylene with 953 human passengers, and arrived in Turkey with 954; one had been born en route. The transfer of 8,000 Moslems was balanced by the transfer of 8,000 Greeks. These were taken from refuge camps in Samsoun and landed in Saloniki, which is now a wreck of the former Balkan seaport, having been burned and shelled during the war.

Insistence on the formation of the official commission brought it into existence late in October, 1923. But it was impossible for the Americans to withdraw. Neutrals more neutral than the commission itself were needed to relieve the constant strain of the situation. There was dangerous tension among the Moslems in Macedonia, and the American organization was begged to intervene. Later Turks and Greeks could not agree on the article in the treaty concerning the exchange of civil prisoners. The Americans were obliged to handle the exchange of these, some 11,000 in number. In January, 1924, official sub-commissions, numbering eleven, began to function. They prepared lists of those condemned to exile, helped them fill in declarations of valuation of their abandoned property—to be paid for, it is hoped, in a final liquidation years hence, if the owners survive—and supervise their transportation to ports of embarkation, the cost of moving the Greeks being paid by the Greek Government, and that of the Turks by the Turkish Government. Each sub-commission is presided over by a neutral Chairman; four Danes, three Dutchmen, two Swiss, a Norwegian and a Swede. A Turk and a Greek are the other members of each commission. These commissions are functioning in Saloniki, Cavalla, Kozane and Kailaria in Macedonia; Gumuldjina in Western Thrace; Candia and Canea on the island of

Crete, and Constantinople, Mersine and Samsoun in Turkey.

Fortunately the Council of the League of Nations in session at Brussels on Oct. 31 was able to adjust the complicated controversy between Turkey and Greece that arose out of the arrest and imprisonment of Greek residents in Constantinople. The representatives of the two nations accepted without reserve and the Council adopted a report drawn up by Viscount Ishii of Japan asking the Mixed Commission to meet at once and settle all the outstanding questions arising from the arrests and emphasizing the fact that both Greece and Turkey had agreed to recognize the plenary authority of the commission.

This exodus of people is therefore proceeding now with the precision of a machine. A representative of the commission goes to a Turkish town, orders the chief Moslem—the Mufti—to gather his people and their movable goods, and to proceed on a given date to a certain railway station, whence they will be transported to a seaport. Here the Moslems are loaded on a Turkish steamer, which sails under sealed orders, in order to prevent a rebellion of its unwilling passengers before they are at sea. They may be taken anywhere from Mersine on the south coast of Anatolia to Trebizond on the Black Sea—a coast-line of 2,000 miles. They are disembarked. The Turkish Government official at the port is instructed to provide shelter for them. He does, if there is any. Theoretically, there should be homes left vacant by the expulsion of the Greeks, but in fact all these houses have already been occupied by Turks, under the provisions of the Turkish Abandoned Property act. Practically, the refugees take what they can get, if they can get anything, and if not they set out on foot from Turkish village to village, seeking shelter and food.

HOMELESS TURKS

Nearly half a million Turks are thus being abandoned, homeless, in Turkey. Yet their tragedy may mean ultimate material benefit to Turkey, for they

were hard-working and thrifty men, most of them having been prosperous farmers in their old homes. A million of Turkey's best workmen and farmers were lost to her when the Greeks and Armenians were driven out, and Turkey needs farmers and workmen. Anatolia today has a population of less than six millions; the country is largely desert, and its total wealth is probably less than that of an average American city of 100,000. An addition of 400,000 Turks from Greece, many of them expert tobacco growers, will, if these refugees can make a place for themselves in a strange land, somewhat offset the loss of population that followed the burning of Smyrna.

The Greeks, on the other hand, must find a solution of the problem of 1,100,000 refugees, who have been struggling against starvation for eighteen months, and for an additional 150,000 yet to come. As only 400,000 Moslems are being driven from Greece, Greece has a surplus of 850,000 penniless, hungry refugees, many unable to speak the language of the country in which they find themselves. How shall houses be provided for them, tools and implements for shops and fields, food until harvest?

The refugee camps are crowded; the terrific struggle for a crust of bread or a rag of clothing; the fight against Winter's cold and Summer's malaria, goes on among the feeble, emaciated and despairing, whose only crime is being victims of forces beyond their control or imagining, whose only desire is to work, where there is no work. The League of Nations has outlined the conditions of a loan of £6,000,000 (over \$25,000,000). The loan has not been floated. The Bank of England has advanced £2,000,000, but even this third of the sum needed is restricted to permanent construction and cannot be used for immediate necessities of food and medicine.

There is in addition the enormous problem of assimilation. Greece, with its native population of 5,000,000, staggers under the influx of more than a million aliens. The situation thus created is somewhat comparable to what it

would be if within a few months the United States received 20,000,000 refugees, most of them unable to speak English and all of them without resources of any kind. Greece is at a further disadvantage in having no natural resources to develop—no forests, no water power, no mineral wealth, no raw materials for manufactures, nothing but unoccupied land that is only malarial swamp. The problem of assimilation is particularly acute in Macedonia along the borders of Turkey and Bulgaria. Macedonia—necessary to Greece for economic reasons, necessary to Bulgaria as an outlet to the sea and coveted by Yugoslavia—is the bone beneath the heap of snarling Balkan dogs. In the chaos of political upheaval within Greece, while the refugees were pouring in, about 50,000 Armenians settled upon the vacant lands of Macedonia. For thirty centuries the Armenians, who have maintained their social and racial integrity under alien conquerors, stubbornly refused to become Greeks.

A little later, Greece has seen her political blunder in allowing any population but Greek to settle in Macedonia along the borders threatened by Bulgaria and Turkey. An order has therefore been issued once more deporting the Armenians of Macedonia. This order affects also the Greek refugees who have settled in Western Thrace on land left vacant by fleeing Moslems. Under the Lausanne Treaty the Moslems are allowed to return to Western Thrace, and they can do so only if the refugees settled on their abandoned farms are forcibly removed. These thousands of Greeks and Armenians, who were beginning to settle down, are thus cast adrift again among the homeless multitudes. The Greek Government, however, has not acted precipitately. Time has been given in which to move this population, and from the meagre Greek budget—more than half of which is already being expended upon refugees—\$300,000 has been provided for their transportation.

It is an illustration of the position which the unofficial American people

hold in the Near East that the order exempts from deportation the 2,000 orphaned Armenian boys in Near East Relief care who have been placed as farm workers in Macedonia. These boys, graduated from the American orphanage schools, are farming land on shares with money contributed by the Near East Relief and others. The project is part of the American policy of returning its 50,000 orphan charges to permanent self-supporting places in the life of the Mediterranean countries.

The West has awakened Turkey at last. European nationalism was the oxygen which raised the Sick Man of Europe from a deathbed. Its immediate effects have been more disastrous than war, both to Moslem Turkey and to the Christian Balkans. Refugeeism—which means famine, pestilence and death—has overwhelmed these countries. During the past year 110,000 of the refugees in Greece alone have died; probably an equal number will die during the coming year. These people, and the hundreds of thousands idle in refugee camps, were the workers of Turkey;

their loss is a serious blow to the new Ottoman Republic.

The 10,000,000 unofficial Americans who have supported, and are continuing to support, the Near East Relief are helping to counteract the most far-reaching effects of the colossal blunders made in the Near East. They have helped seven countries through the agony of the peace. At least one of these countries owes its survival entirely to America. But America's fundamental work has been the saving of the lives of scores of thousands of children. These children, whose growing years are sheltered in American care, whose schooling is American, whose ideals are being formed by America, are now being returned to self-supporting, self-respecting lives in the Near East at the rate of 14,000 a year as rapidly as they reach the age of 16. The assumption of this responsibility and the manner in which it is being fulfilled from year to year by the American people is more than a humanitarian enterprise; it is a hope in international affairs.



General view of Angora, the capital of new Turkey

Intertribal Conflict in Arabia

By ANTHONY CLYNE

A British Publicist.

THE Wahibi hostilities against King Hussein of the Hedjaz, which resulted in the capture of the holy city of Mecca and Hussein's abdication, once again illustrated that disunion, with endemic outbreaks of intertribal warfare, to which Arabia is doomed by its conditions, natural and otherwise. The Arabs, admirable in many respects, are by tradition and habit quarrelsome and pugnacious. Once, 1,300 years ago, a great religious movement united them, when the Prophet founded a theocratic State. The Arab-Caliphs enlarged their dominion over Syria, Egypt and Persia and extended their rule in North Africa and Spain. But gradually the inevitable tendency to disunion disintegrated the mighty Arab empire. It crumbled, and the Turks squatted on its ruins, putting nothing in its place and blighting everything that escaped from the wreck.

Toward the end of the World War the Arabs, freed from Turkish control, became conscious of a new hope. It inspired them all, from the poverty-stricken and warlike nomadic tribes ranging the desert to the rich and astute merchants, from industrious tillers of the soil to the wretched beggars haunting the doors of the mosques. The age-long dream of establishing a great Arab empire by confederating the tribes which had incessantly through the centuries fought among themselves seemed now within reach of realization. Disillusionment speedily came. The Arabs, stubbornly tenacious of patriarchal forms and everlastingly at feud one tribe with another, once more showed themselves incapable of building a strong and enduring State.

Even in the days of the first four Caliphs, when the wave of Moslem conquest spread as far as Spain, the Arabs did not form an empire in the ordinary sense of the term, but a loose confedera-

tion, under which intertribal conflicts never ceased. After the World War, no longer temporarily united by the struggle to throw off the yoke of the Ottoman Sultans, the Arabs relapsed into a chronic state of disunion. The Emir of Hasa could not forget his traditional feud with the Sultan of Nejd, nor the Imam of the Yemen with the Emir of Asir. Still more important, Ibn Saud, the Sultan of Nejd, the brave and astute ruler of the Wahibis, the fanatical "Puritans of the Moslem world," who carved out a Central Arabian empire at the expense of his rivals and neighbors, had long awaited an opportunity of attacking his hated foe, the King of the Hedjaz, and capturing the Holy City, regarded by his people as "a den of iniquity inhabited by blasphemous malignants."

In the whole of Arabia, more than 1,000,000 square miles in area, of which one-half is uninhabitable, the population does not number more than 5,000,000. The great sandy desert in the South "the Abode of Emptiness," a barrier dividing more impenetrably than an unbroken lofty mountain range, has never been crossed by a European, and is but seldom traversed by the Bedouins themselves, children of the desert as they are. How can such a land be united? Arabia has always been in a state of flux. Alexander the Great died before he could attempt a permanent conquest. The Romans tried with scant success to incorporate the country in their empire. Even the ruthless ambitions of the Turk never gave them a secure hold on any part. There are no settled conditions. The flocks and herds travel vast distances to reach certain areas of the desert plateau where in the rainy season there suddenly appears, as if by a miracle, a garment of brilliantly green and rich vegetation, affording good pasturage for a few months. Arabia is famous

for its horses and camels. The horses are of splendid breed because of the unsettled life of their masters. The camels, bad-tempered and revengeful, have never been really domesticated, any more than their masters. The Ishmaelite Bedouins flit from oasis to oasis, living on the precarious verge of the food-supply, maintaining their numbers at a fixed relation to it by killing each other in feuds. They are governed by tribal chiefs, usually hereditary, who have little actual authority except what may be allowed to their superior cunning. The Arabs in settled communities, agriculturists and traders, have their own independent princes, perpetually at war.

SULTAN'S LARGE TERRITORY

The Sultan of Nejd is the ruler of an immense tract, the remnant of the great Wahibi Empire of the eighteenth century, covering Central Arabia, the people of which belong to a sect of strict, fanatical ascetics. As water can be obtained in that part of the country by digging it supports a relatively large population. Yet its capital, Riyadh, is but a large village built of sun-dried clay, with a population constantly fluctuating. The Sultan, Abd-ul-Aziz Ibn Saud, is one of those masterful personalities elevated temporarily by their own genius, generally with the aid of an appeal to the religious zeal of their followers, and welding for a time the discordant elements of some greater or smaller part of the peninsula into something like a coherent state. His appearance is striking. Abnormally tall, even for an Arab, he is a picturesque and impressive figure in his flowing Arab robes, with the stately bearing of the sovereign of a wide realm, his handsome finely chiseled face expressive of determination and keen understanding.

Colonies of Wahibi tribesmen, banded together in a kind of freemasonry known as the Ikhwan, or Brothers, were founded by Ibn Saud. Here the old tribal practices are set aside, the feuds and alliances obliterated, all the members taught to regard themselves as united not by ties of blood but by common de-

votion to one stern creed, implicit obedience and unquestioning fidelity being given to Ibn Saud as the Imam of the religion. Thus he created efficient fighting units. But removed from their natural surroundings and established in settled communities they cannot follow their ancestral occupation of camel breeding, for which a nomadic existence is essential, nor is the supply of water in the new colonies sufficient for more than a small proportion to employ themselves in agriculture. They are therefore largely supported out of the revenues, necessitating burdensome taxation, while the number of camels for export is being reduced, further impoverishing the country. When actually in the field, carrying the Sultan's banner and given the place of honor in battle, the Ikhwan are maintained entirely by the Sultan and by any loot they can seize.

This fighting force has not been created without exciting the discontent of the other subjects of the Sultan, and as the only justification for its existence is war the temptation to one of Ibn Saud's restless ambition of inventing a pretext for such justification is obvious. Equally obvious is the object for attack. Did not the Wahibi campaigns at the beginning of last century culminate in the capture of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, reconquered for orthodox Islam with difficulty by the armies of Mohammed Ali of Egypt? The hereditary and religious hatred of the Wahibis for the people of the Hedjaz, scorned as "dogs of infidels" because they make offerings at the tombs of deceased saints, smoke tobacco, drink coffee and generally ignore the elaborate prohibitions of the Wahibite creed, was intensified by British patronage of the venerable King Hussein, the elevation of his second son as King of Iraq and his third as Emir of Transjordan and his assumption of the title of Caliph. Especially was it intensified by the strange blend of Eastern tradition and custom with Western science and progress introduced by King Hussein, calculated to outrage their puritanic prejudices more

perhaps than outright desertion of the Faith.

HUSSEIN'S DESPOTISM

King Hussein was an absolute monarch, lacking nothing of the dignity and state of an Oriental autocrat. He preserved all the traditional ceremonial, never, for example, inviting the most honored guest or trusted sheikh to his table, but eating alone in august seclusion. Yet he had at Mecca a powerful wireless station, reserved, however, entirely for official use, to convey his instructions and rebukes to the subordinate rulers of his domains. The Holy City has a telephone system, but King Hussein insisted that his number should be "No. 1, Mecca," and that every other telephone instrument should be automatically disconnected when the receiver of his instrument was removed, lest there should be an eavesdropper of the royal conversation or his dignity should be wounded by the reply "Number engaged; please call again." Mecca is "haram" or forbidden, believed by the pious to be situated exactly beneath the throne of Allah and guarded by ten thousand angels, and it still means death for the "kafir" or infidel to be detected within its precincts. It is probably even more difficult today for a non-Moslem to penetrate to the Holy City of millions of Moslems, toward which their heads are bowed at the hour of prayer, than it used to be, owing to the stricter precautions and the greater number of spies. Only about ten infidels during the last hundred years have succeeded in visiting it, all disguised and running great risk of assassination at the hands of the faithful in the event of exposure. As when Sir Richard Burton made the pilgrimage as a Moslem vagrant, the inhabitants of Mecca still subsist by exploiting the pilgrims, and the uncontrollable Bedouins outside the city harass and rob the caravans or exact heavy dues as the price of freedom from molestation. Yet Mecca has an efficient postal service and an excellent weekly paper, of which King Hussein himself was editor-in-chief. Such

is the strange mingling of East and West, old and new.

The Sultan of Nejd, as well as King Hussein, entered into alliance with the British during the World War, but the help he gave was small. However, like King Hussein, he received a subsidy from the British. When, in 1916, the latter proclaimed himself King of the Hedjaz, he aspired to be the chief of a great Arab confederation, the ruler of a united Arabia. As soon as his European allies withdrew, the impossibility of his ambition became manifest. Ibn Saud had regained his ancestral throne in 1902, and by resolute and ferocious and skillful attacks had gradually extended his sway beyond the immediate neighborhood of Riyadh, over an ever-growing expanse of territory. The revival of Wahibite fervor among his subjects enabled him after the war to resume his attacks. He captured Taif, sixty miles from Mecca, and followed this up by taking possession of the Holy City itself. The subsidy paid to him by the British was alleged to secure protection from him for Iraq, but the wisdom of this policy was seriously questioned by an important section of public opinion in Britain. It was asserted that the subsidy enabled Ibn Saud to maintain his companies of professional warriors, a constant menace to peace in Arabia, bolstering up militant fanaticism. It was also stated that, instead of securing protection for Iraq, the large subsidy supported a large standing army threatening its borders and necessitating the postponement of complete evacuation of Iraq by British forces.

In the conflict between two Arabian rulers, Hussein and Ibn Saud, the British could not intervene, especially as the theatre of hostilities was the Holy Land of Islam, unless the lives or property of British Moslem subjects, on pilgrimage or settled in Arabia, were endangered. The Koweit Conference was arranged last Winter by the British Government to settle the differences, both rulers claiming important oases. The conference failed to effect a settlement, with what consequences we have already seen.

The Chaotic Currency Condition of Europe

By NEIL CAROTHERS,

Dean, College of Business Administration, Lehigh University

THE pre-war American tourist landed at Liverpool and bought a railway ticket priced in pounds worth \$4.8665, crossed the Channel to Brussels and paid his hotel bill with Belgian francs valued at 19.295 cents, went across the border into Holland and found prices there quoted in guilders worth 40.196 cents, paid the expenses of his Rhine trip with marks worth 23.821 cents, and settled his accounts in Vienna with Austrian crowns worth 20.263 cents. If he was observant, he noted that the bewildering variety of currency units put him at a disadvantage in his dealings with bankers and money-changers, and if he was of philosophical bent, he wondered why an agency of such vast economic importance as money was not a simpler and more convenient instrument.

He could have found an explanation in the individual histories of the various monetary systems of the world. These systems are, without exception, historical accidents, and no one of them is the result of a careful and scientifically worked out plan; on the contrary, each one is a heritage of the past, the chance product of generations of trial and error, of experiments with many commodities and metals, of fraudulent adulterations by Kings and Ministers and of arbitrary and misguided changes in standards and units.

The present monetary systems of even the most progressive countries are the offspring of emergency measures hastily passed to meet temporary currency crises. The adoption of the single gold standard by England may fairly be considered the most important event in monetary history. The law which brought it about was the work of Lord

Liverpool, one of the great financiers of his day. But he did not understand the true character of the measure himself, its final results were quite accidental, and Parliament did not realize that the gold standard had been established until some years later. Even now Great Britain and most of her colonies have a non-decimal currency so clumsy in trade and inconvenient in calculations that its continued use today is an almost inexplicable anachronism.

The currency system of the United States is also a chance result, due to a century of financial accidents and legislative experiments. It is derived from the Spanish peso, or piece-of-eight, which came into the country in Colonial days from the mints set up in Mexico and Peru by the treasure-hunting freebooters from Spain. Even the name "dollar" has an accidental derivation from Bohemia, where silver was discovered in the Joachimsthal, or Joachim's Valley, in the fifteenth century. The Germans called the coins from these mines "thalers," and the English applied the term, quite incorrectly, to the Spanish peso, corrupting the word "thaler" to dollar. The weights of our original gold and silver dollar units, determined by Alexander Hamilton, were based upon a mere surmise as to the weight of the worn and clipped Spanish dollars in circulation at the

Dean Carothers was educated at Oxford, England, and at Princeton University, where he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. After occupying the position of Assistant Professor of Economics and Finance at Princeton, he was made adviser on finance to the State Department during the period of the peace negotiations at Versailles. He was subsequently offered but declined the post of United States High Commissioner in Nicaragua. For four years he held an important administrative position in the largest foreign exchange bank in the United States.

time. Although it has long since ceased to be the standard, the silver dollar still circulates with the same awkward weight of 371 1/4 grains of silver that Hamilton selected in 1791. There is no need for the coin today, and its continued circulation in the South and West is a curious illustration of the tenacity of habit in monetary matters. After the Civil War the negroes, who could not read, preferred the coin to printed paper notes, and the people of the South became accustomed to the circulation of the piece and still retain it, just as they retain the term "two bits" to refer to the quarter-dollar, the usage going back more than two hundred years to the time when the Spanish dollar was divided into eight reals or "bits."

The gold dollar, which is now our standard unit, weighs 23.22 grains. This clumsy fractional weight is the result of the laws of 1834 and 1837, the first a shameful measure of debasement, passed as part of a political plot to kill the Bank of the United States; the second a minor measure which attempted to correct a stupid mathematical error in the original law. Even now, when the larger questions of standard, of paper money and of an efficient banking system have been satisfactorily settled, the dead hand of the past shows itself in the heterogeneous currencies in circulation in this country. There are seven different kinds of paper money and five different kinds of coins, no two alike in character or legal standing. Four of them have no real reason for being, and two of them constitute a menace to the Treasury's stability.

The currency annals of the other great countries have been marked by the same fortuitous development that we find in the monetary history of the United States and Great Britain. Three currency standards prevail, the gold standard, the silver standard and the gold-exchange standard, this last a rather complex arrangement which is virtually equivalent to the gold standard. The vast majority of the countries of the world are, either actually or

nominally, on the gold standard. Bimetallism has been abandoned and China is the only important country still on a silver basis. Before the World War all the important countries of Europe had gold currencies and most of the nations of South America and Central America more or less successfully maintained gold or gold-exchange standards.

IRREDEEMABLE PAPER STANDARDS

When a nation has lost all its metallic money and has as a circulating medium only a mass of paper money bearing the Government's promise to pay at some remote date in the future, it is customary to say that it has an irredeemable paper standard. It would be more correct to say that it has no standard at all. Many of the South American and Central American countries have had such currencies for more than a generation, and nearly every country in the world has been in this unfortunate situation since 1914. The overwhelming financial débâcle of the war destroyed the gold standard in practically every country except the United States. Of this great total of paper money countries a small number have achieved a virtual return to the gold basis. A few others give promise of bringing their paper currencies to par. The majority of them can never raise their paper moneys to their nominal values in gold. The refusal of the European countries to admit this vital fact and to adjust their financial policies accordingly is the most discouraging feature of the financial situation since the war.

All the paper money countries nominally retain their pre-war gold standards. Some of them have never in any official or legal way admitted that they are not on a gold basis. Assuming for the moment that the nominal metallic standard is the actual basis, we find that among the more than sixty nations with a gold currency there are twenty-three distinct and separate units, varying from the French franc of about 29 centigrams, worth about 19 cents, to the

Egyptian pound of about 750 centigrams, worth \$4.94. Of these twenty-three units not one has a gold content that can be expressed in an even number of grains of the English system or of grams of the metric system. Only one can be expressed in an even number of centigrams. The others are unwieldy decimal fractions. The gold in the British pound weighs 113.0015 grains, or 7.3223 grams. The German mark contains 35.8442 centigrams of gold. And similarly for all the others. The fractional weights are not, however, such impediments to commerce and business as might be expected. In considerable measure the difficulties have been overcome by the highly efficient methods of modern mints and by the use of tables and rule-of-thumb methods in international transactions in exchange. The great evil is not in the weights of the individual units but in the extraordinary diversity in the group of standards as a whole.

This lack of uniformity is a relentless burden on international trade and investment. The American buyer of Canadian wheat compares Chicago prices with Winnipeg prices quoted in his own dollars and cents. But the American importer of cutlery must compare the dollar prices of his own country with the franc quotations of Belgium, the krone prices of Sweden, the shilling quotations of England and the mark prices of Germany, and all these prices are complicated by additional quotations of freight, insurance, exchange charges and customs duties, some payable in one currency, some in another. In Europe the diversity of standards is a tremendous obstacle to economic progress. Germany, Belgium and Holland are contiguous and are bound together commercially by intimate trade and investment relations, and yet they carry on their international business under the same conditions that would obtain in this country if, for example, New York had a monetary unit of one dollar, New Jersey a unit of 27.341½ cents and Pennsylvania a standard of 72.591¼ cents. In the same way the countries of

South America, with every possible reason for establishing a uniform currency, do business under the condition of a different unit for each nation.

Despite all the diversity that now obtains, however, conditions are better than they were in the past. Until well into the nineteenth century every country legalized the circulation of whatever foreign coins it could entice into its territory, and the currency of every large country was an indescribable potpourri of coins. A book published in England in 1801 described 218 coins that every ambitious young merchant must know. The gold discoveries of the middle of the century upset the currency systems of the time and in the subsequent reorganizations there was material progress in the direction of uniformity.

The Latin Monetary Union was evolved from the turmoil of the period. The original members—France, Belgium, Italy and Switzerland—adopted the gold franc. The same unit was adopted later by Greece, Spain, Rumania, Finland, Venezuela and other countries. The founders of the union were enthusiastic in their belief that the franc would become the sole currency standard of the world. For a generation the leading countries of Europe and America seriously considered the possibility of a universal unit. The United States had been interested in the matter before the formation of the Latin Union. Even during the Civil War, when the very existence of the nation was at stake, the overburdened Secretary of the Treasury, Chase, found time to urge upon Congress the desirability of a common unit for England, France and the United States.

Many conferences were held, but England was cold to all proposals and the metric system made slow progress in English-speaking countries. The dollar, the pound and the mark more than held their own in the struggle for world pre-eminence. The only tangible result of the entire movement was one of the most curious monetary measures ever passed. Congress in 1873 changed the

weights of our small silver coins to correspond with those of France, so that our dime has a metric weight exactly equal to a French silver half-franc, and our quarter-dollar and half-dollar are scaled in proportion. Inasmuch as in both countries the silver coins are token coins whose silver weights have nothing to do with their values and whose circulation is absolutely limited to their respective countries, this shift to the metric system in part of our coinage was a meaningless gesture, entirely without significance.

CURRENCY GROUPS OF TODAY

There are now but three important standards—the pound, the dollar and the franc. The extent to which these three units dominate is made evident by the following table of nominal gold standards:

POUND STERLING	Bulgaria.
\$4.8666.	Finland.
Great Britain.	Yugoslavia.
Australia.	Venezuela.
New Zealand.	Argentina (5 francs).
South Africa.	Paraguay (5 francs).
Peru.	U. S. DOLLAR
India (1/10 pound).	\$1.
Bolivia (2/25 pound).	United States.
Chile (3/40 pound).	Canada.
Colombia (1/5 pound).	Cuba.
Ecuador (1/10 pound).	Porto Rico.
LATIN UNION FRANC	British West Indies.
19.295 cents.	San Domingo.
France.	Nicaragua.
Belgium.	Panama.
Italy.	British Honduras.
Spain.	Liberia.
Switzerland.	Philippines (1/2 dollar)
Greece.	Haiti (1/4 dollar).
Rumania.	

The standards of a number of the countries listed have long been nominal and fictitious. The Argentine's paper money was stabilized at 44 per cent. of its five-franc value many years ago. Brazil's nominal gold unit, which is unlike any other, has not been in circulation for a generation. Her pre-war paper was stabilized at a valuation of one-fifteenth of the pound, but that valuation was lost during the war. The other South American countries listed have long been on an irredeemable paper basis. India's gold exchange system has broken down and the real standard is the silver rupee.

There are three other standards that are used by more than one country, as follows:

JAPANESE YEN	SCANDINAVIAN	AUSTRIAN KRONE
49.846 cents.	KRONE 26.799 cents.	20.263 cents.
Japan.	Norway.	Austria.
Mexico.	Sweden.	Hungary.
	Denmark.	Czechoslovakia.

Russia, Holland, Germany, Portugal and other countries have unique units of their own.

UNIFORMITY PROPOSALS FUTILE IN PAST

Though the history of all these currency systems will explain why the world has been burdened with an inefficient medium of exchange, it will not explain the failure to bring about a greater uniformity. The factors here are inertia and false pride. Every country recognizes the fundamental necessity of a uniform currency and approves its adoption, but conditions this approval on the universal adoption of its own standard. Great Britain alone has shown indifference to proposals of uniformity, apparently believing that her antiquated system is advantageous to her commerce. Nevertheless, wherever a decimal system has had a fair chance to compete with the English system, as in Canada, the pound has been discarded. There have also been certain technical difficulties in the way of a universal monetary standard. When a nation has a genuine metallic standard, with gold coins actually in circulation, a change of standard causes a certain amount of disturbance. If the standard gold unit is reduced in size, the general effect is to raise prices and thereby injure the so-called creditor classes. An increase in the unit tends to injure the interests of other classes; if, however, the alteration is small, 1 or 2 per cent., for example, the injury is immaterial. The real obstacle that has stood in the way of a universal currency is psychological. It is the inherent tendency of nations to refrain from making changes in the currency when conditions are normal. No currency reform has ever been instituted in any country without an antecedent crisis or emergency. The United States endured a wretched currency of worn Mexican and Spanish silver coins for sixty years, solely because Congress would not pass the simple measures necessary to create a United States coinage.

Excepting only the issue of paper money, there is no form of a change of standard so unfortunate as that which results from an extraordinary increase in the supply of money through the discovery of very large gold deposits. The stream of gold from such discoveries as those of California in the last century has the effect of debasing the currency through a reduction in the weight of the gold unit. Ultimately very large additions to the gold supply cause panics and industrial crises and have much the same consequences as those crises that follow inflation by paper issues.

With a uniform world currency facing these barriers of national pride, popular prejudice and Governmental inertia, the agitation of the past has been futile. The only hope of a universal currency has been some extraordinary and unprecedented condition in world finance. The World War brought about just such a condition. The metallic standards have been destroyed. The United States, Sweden, Canada, Holland and Switzerland may be considered as having an actual or an approximate gold standard. England, Norway, Denmark and Japan may restore their standards in the course of time. The other great nations are hopelessly and helplessly in the grip of irredeemable paper money. They will never be able to redeem their sodden masses of paper.

Of this last named group of nations some have been on an irredeemable paper basis for a quarter-century. Most of them have arrived at their present situation since 1914. All must restore the gold standard if the world is again to have a sane and wholesome economic life. This can be brought about by a frank, thorough-going and final repudiation of their paper currencies. There is no other way. Sooner or later each one must fix a gold valuation for its paper money, even if that valuation be zero, and revert to a stable metallic basis.

There are a number of methods by which this repudiation and revaluation may be accomplished. In some coun-

tries the issues of paper may be continued until the whole mass becomes worthless. A new standard will then be developed from the chaos that will for a time prevail. Russia, Germany and Poland are far along this road. Each of these countries has within the past year adopted a new paper unit which is to be worth millions of the all but worthless notes outstanding. Other countries may halt their issues and stabilize the paper money at some low level, -with the idea of eventual redemption in gold at the level attained. Czechoslovakia, Austria, Finland and a few others have managed to stop the extremes of fluctuation in their currencies. Still others are struggling with their burdens of debt and paper money without any definite policy for the future: France, Italy, Belgium and Hungary are in this category.

PERMANENT DEPRECIATION

Whatever their present and future policies may be, a large number of countries can never bring their present volume of paper money to its par value in gold. Twenty-two such countries may be listed as follows: France, Belgium, Italy, Spain, Greece, Rumania, Bulgaria, Finland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Portugal, Germany, Russia, Poland, Austria, Hungary, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Paraguay, Peru.

Each one of these countries must, in one way or another, devalue its paper circulation at some fixed rate of repudiation. This unescapable necessity for a revaluation offers to each a uniquely favorable opportunity to select a new currency standard, with an unlimited choice among all the units of the world. In fact, each one of these countries is in the position of a country that has no standard money unit and is casting about to determine what unit will best serve its interests.

A new unit can be adopted with the minimum of disturbance and confusion. There would be no interference with mint operations, for the mints have been practically idle since 1914. There

would be no problem of recoinage, for nearly all the gold coins of the nations listed have long since disappeared; most of them have been melted and sent to the United States. But the most important consideration is that the new unit would involve no problem of prices or existing debts and contracts. Once the actual rate of repudiation is determined, the name, origin, design and weight of the new unit gold coin is absolutely immaterial.

NEW COMMON UNIT INDISPENSABLE

The choice of the new unit is obviously a matter for each nation to decide for itself. The logic of the situation, however, points to the dollar. A vast amount of gold that was formerly held abroad is within the territory of the United States. Within the past ten years—that is, since the outbreak of the World War—the dollar has displaced the pound as the most widely acceptable currency in the world and has worked a revolution in foreign trade and foreign exchange practices. In the most remote villages of Europe the dollar is the symbol of financial stability. It is ideal in size and its decimal divisions adapt it perfectly to retail trade and make for simplicity in accounting. It could be adopted by almost every country without arousing popular resentment. Whatever the unit chosen, however, it would be an economic blunder for the nations involved to go back to the diverse units of the past. The adoption of any common unit would be a tremendous step forward, whether that unit be mark, crown, franc or dollar.

The more general objection that a new form of currency would be unfamiliar to peoples accustomed to the franc, crown or rouble has no basis. The old belief that a new currency is inaugurated with difficulty is belied not only by ancient but by recent history. In an earlier day the United States discarded a Spanish currency without disturbance. Canada gave up the pound. The Belgian civilian population shifted from the franc to the mark as rapidly as the German troops poured over the

land: Poland and some of the other European countries have had two, three and even four different standards since 1914. The infant nations of Latvia and Lithuania have recently adopted entirely unfamiliar units.

The eventual repudiation of the paper moneys of Europe is an unpleasant but inevitable sequel to the present situation, and repudiation is always an ugly and distasteful procedure. If the paper money countries revalue in terms of their old units, the extent of the repudiation is automatically advertised. If Italy, for example, eventually redeems her paper money at the rate of five lire in paper for one lira in gold, the repudiation of 80 per cent. becomes a glaring mathematical fact. The psychological advantages to be derived from discarding all the present units of Europe, with their associations of inflation and bankruptcy, would be very great. In the case of Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Hungary, whose present currencies were in large measure forced on them by alien influences in time of war, the desirability of new standards is self-evident.

CHANGE FEASIBLE FOR MANY NATIONS

Although there is nothing in the recent history of these currencies to justify pride in their retention, national feeling may prevent the countries on the franc or pound standard from considering the alteration of their units. But Germany, Russia, Austria, Brazil, Chile, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and many other countries have units that are individual and discordant. For any one of these countries to retain its present unit when it restores the gold standard would be economic folly. And yet there are indications that ill-timed and short-sighted motives of expediency or political preference will play a part in the selection of the new units. Russia, with all the world's units to choose among, has determined to keep the old pre-war ruble, whose value of approximately 51 cents is out of accord with all other standards. Her new paper standard, the chervonetz, is equivalent

to 10 rubles. Poland, with an alien currency of German marks, debated the matter of the unit for five years and finally chose the franc, which she is attempting to establish under the name of the "zloty," despite the fact that her future commerce will be chiefly with Germany, Great Britain and the United States.

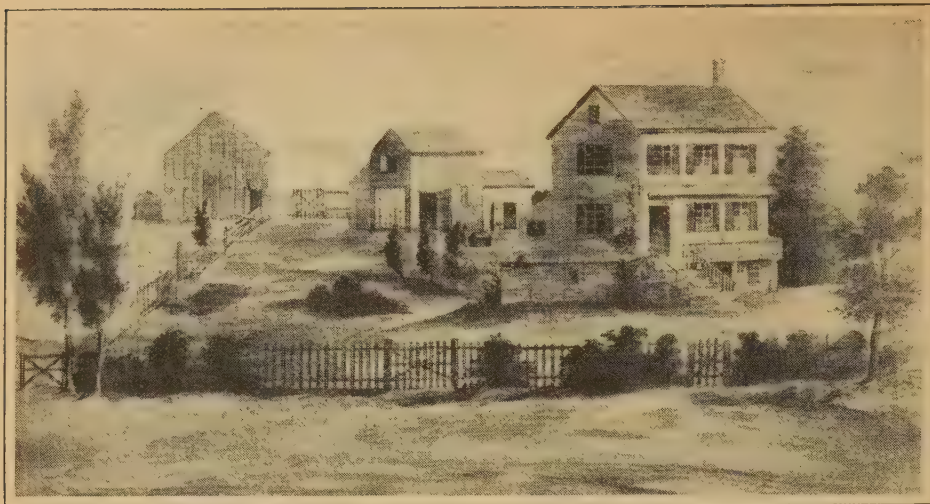
Austria, on the other hand, has been wavering between the dollar and the pound, with British influences in the ascendant, although there is not one sound economic reason for the selection of the pound. The infant republic of Latvia has recently adopted the "lat," equivalent to the franc, while its next-door neighbor, Lithuania, enjoys the distinction of being the first country in Europe to adopt the dollar, its new standard "lit" being equal to 10 cents. Another neighbor, the Free City of Danzig, has added to the confusion by selecting the pound. Only recently the suggestion that the new paper unit of Germany be made equal to the dollar met with strong opposition from French, German and British sources, although in every way that unit was most to be preferred.

A uniform world standard would bring to a common basis all price quotations in international trade and investments. It would greatly stimulate the foreign trade of every country on

the globe. It would simplify the complex business of foreign exchange, with its mystifying terminology and abstruse calculations. It would facilitate the movement of coin and bullion from country to country and put an end to the endless melting and recoining of the present day. It would improve the quality of coins. Inevitably the coins of the great commercial nations, England, Germany, the United States and France, would predominate, and the badly minted and easily counterfeited coins of lesser countries would disappear.

The League of Nations could give proof of its capacity to serve the world by taking up and forcing to a conclusion this question of a uniform currency. The great war spread ruin throughout the world; its cost in blood and tears, in debt and waste, in destruction and poverty cannot be estimated. Certain industrial gains have come from it, new economic processes have been discovered and improved methods have been developed, but these compensate only in small degree for the ghastly losses. The financial chaos of Europe presents a golden opportunity for the institution of a currency reform of vast importance. This opportunity could never have come except through a cataclysm such as the World War. It will never again be presented.





By Courtesy of Harry Collins Brown

The Bernheimer Farm, between Fifty-first and Fifty-second Streets, where the twin Vanderbilt houses now stand on Fifth Avenue

Fifth Avenue

Hundredth Anniversary of the Internationally Known Thoroughfare

By J. GEORGE FREDERICK

Formerly editor of leading business and advertising magazines and author of books on business; now engaged as an expert in business research and statistics

FIFTH AVENUE in the City of New York, if not one of the oldest or most picturesque streets or one of those most thickly clustered with historical associations, is nevertheless known throughout the world as distinctive of American life. Because it has been so long the most fashionable street of the Western Hemisphere, it is intimately connected with significant phases of American social and national history. With the close of the first century since the famous thoroughfare was opened and the attendant celebrations which took place in November, 1924, the moment is opportune for a brief historical survey beginning that day in 1824 when the City Fathers, sitting in a little old building, and regarding the matter as mere routine business, passed an ordinance opening up the avenue from the Washington Arch to Thirteenth Street.

At that time the area in which Fifth

Avenue had its beginning was one of vacant lots, with country homes, fields, marsh-land and woods—still marked with Indian trails—stretching up beyond this “farthest north” of the future great city. The assessed valuation of this Fifth Avenue section—the first Manhattan knew of the now imposing world-renowned name—was then only \$14,000. Such a paltry sum at that time would have laid the foundation, if invested in Fifth Avenue, of a fortune a hundred years hence for grandchildren to enjoy that would have totaled \$8,128,000. Thus is illustrated how some of the astute New York business men of a century ago, had an opportunity—which, of course, only a few seized—to lay the foundations of a family fortune infinitely more productive than any other kind of an investment they could make. An illustration of this was given recently when the Hotel

Waldorf-Astoria was sold. Many decades ago the site of the Waldorf-Astoria was occupied by what would appear today to be a very common brownstone mansion at the corner of Thirty-third Street and Fifth Avenue. The rest of the block was quite empty. This was the Astor residence, and Astor was the man who more than any other possessed the faculty of visualizing the rapidity with which land values would increase in New York. When the Waldorf-Astoria changed hands for more than \$12,000,000, that property went out of the Astor ownership for the first time in all these many decades.

The centenary of Fifth Avenue occurred just about the time of the completion of new assessments of the city real estate values, and after an elaborate and difficult computation, it became possible to disclose the principal facts as to the valuation of the different sections along the thoroughfare as follows:

Section.	Year of Valuation.	Old Valuation.	1924 Valuation.
Arch to 13th St.	1826	\$14,600	\$8,128,000
13th to 23d St...	1836	405,000	29,541,500
23d to 34th St...	1838	246,500	61,974,000
34th to 40th St...	1838	138,800	71,802,000
40th to 86th St.	1841	397,000	259,611,000
86th to 110th St.	1841	173,000	22,287,000
Totals.....		\$1,374,000	\$453,316,500

The Avenue was opened up in sections as the city grew northward and attained its full growth only when Central Park was completed and the Avenue stretched to its northern terminus along the eastern side of the great park. Its first character, as a street, was, of course residential, and became the line of travel of the aristocracy from the southern part of the city. From Greenwich Village to Washington Square and constantly flowing from Washington Square along the Avenue, the wealthy residence section moved at a pace scarcely known in any other city as large as New York. In most of the great cities of the world, the residential



Fifth Avenue looking north from Forty-second Street as it appeared in the late 80s. The woman in the foreground is near the spot now occupied by the traffic signal tower



Looking up Fifth Avenue from Thirty-second Street in the late 90s, when retail establishments had replaced residences, but before the automobile reigned supreme in the thoroughfare

areas occupied by the rich are much more stable; but in New York the restless pressure of new social classes that arose in rapid succession found expression in the seizure of the better residential sections by the socially ambitious. From the Civil War onward until more recent times, Fifth Avenue was a fairly stable residential area of the aristocracy; but it was maintained as such only by offering the greatest resistance to the ever-expanding needs of the business community around it.

When the retail establishments began to move into the Avenue, its career as an aristocratic residential street was ended. Shoppers of the upper middle classes were attracted in large numbers, and the last stand of the wealthy New Yorkers who wanted to live on Fifth Avenue shifted to a zone in the Fifties and above Fifty-ninth Street along the Park. The story of this last stand of the wealthy

residents is one of unlimited wealth brought into the breach, but all to no avail. The leader in this struggle was John D. Rockefeller Jr., who lived on West Fifty-fourth Street, near the Avenue. His pride was a rock garden in the rear of this home. When the retail establishments which had spread along the lower part of Fifth Avenue gradually pressed upon the Fifties and in fact appeared to select it as an especially attractive section because of the presence of wealth, Mr. Rockefeller made one of the most determined and expensive fights of his career. His agents watched carefully every move of the property owners in the section and were on the spot promptly when any one among them appeared to think of selling. In competition with every possible buyer, Mr. Rockefeller never hesitated to pay beyond the known value at the current assessment of a property, and



Ewing Galloway

Fifth Avenue in 1924: The traffic signal tower at the Forty-second Street crossing

only 7 per cent. were with the protagonists of exclusiveness. The power of the dollar thus overcame the forces of snobbery and "Society" was routed from its last stronghold on lower Fifth Avenue. On upper Fifth Avenue along Central Park a parallel struggle with a parallel result was meanwhile taking place. The sight-seeing cars have for decades been pointing out the mansions of the exceptionally rich men in this section of Fifth Avenue—the palaces of Vincent Astor, Harry Payne Whitney, Otto Kahn, Henry C. Phipps, Harry F. Sinclair and the old residence of Senator Clark of Montana. These men had relied upon making a successful fight to limit the height of buildings to seventy-five feet in this territory. But with the rapid development of the apartment house other strong forces began to work to open up the section to this kind of building.

usually secured it. He had acquired fully twenty-four parcels of property at a cost of over \$10,000,000 and appeared to be winning the fight when, despite his great wealth, he had to capitulate. While his agents were napping some one bought a property which overlooked his rock garden. Mr. Rockefeller lost heart, but was not ready to yield until a census was taken to ascertain the attitude of property owners throughout the entire section in the Fifties, which it was aimed to pre-empt for residence purposes. The figures were thoroughly dampening to any ambition for exclusiveness, for 39 per cent. of the property owners were indifferent as to whether or not business encroached upon the zone, 54 per cent. were definitely ready to surrender to the oncoming rush and

less, a proud and wealthy and a restricted street—the first street of the land. It deserves this characterization, not only because of its history and its associations, but because of the most sagacious management of its inhabitants. There is probably no group of merchants in the world that has cooperated with such success, nor combatted more triumphantly such handicaps as have the business men who formed and carry on the Fifth Avenue Association. Their methods and ideas have become models for similar efforts throughout the United States and abroad. The association was the creation of a man with artistic instincts, as well as business capacity. Robert Grier Cook, who founded it, was the first to appreciate not only the possible

artistry of the street but the business wisdom of maintaining its prestige and character. His death on Oct. 18, 1924, a few weeks before the centenary celebration, came as a great shock to all who knew him.

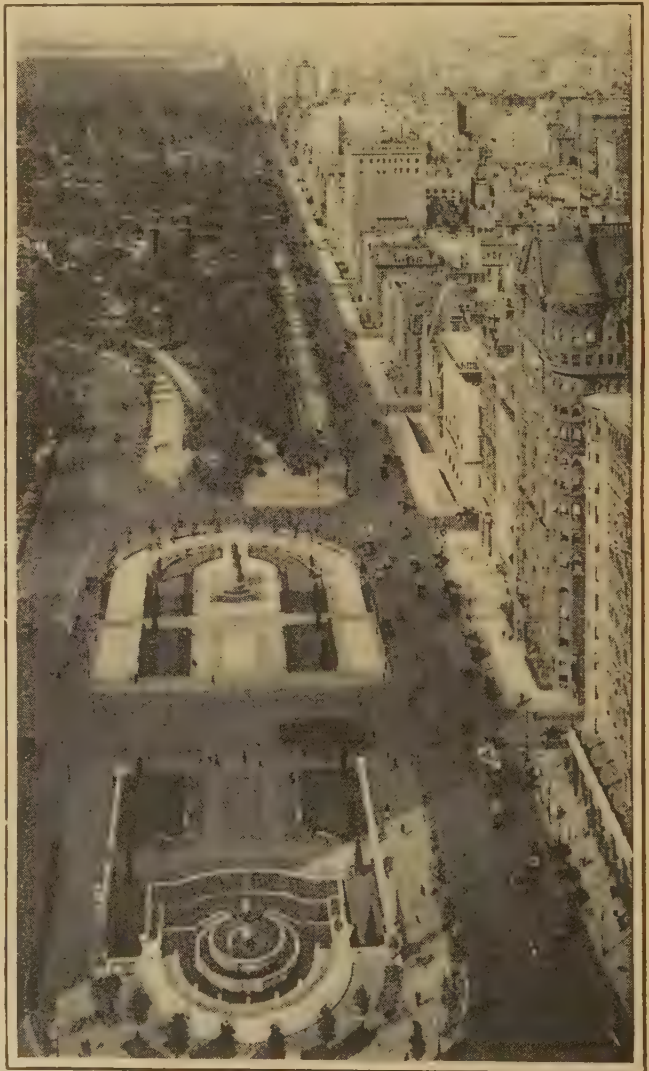
Fifth Avenue is a great potential paradise for beggars. Constant vigilance is necessary to keep them off the Avenue. Almost 1,000 arrests a month take place; or about thirty every day are necessary for the protection of the Avenue from mendicants. In 1923 there were 10,047 such beggars arrested and many more "moved on."

VIGILANT ASSOCIATION

The uniformly good taste of the window and front displays on the Avenue is a matter of frequent note. It is not so well known that by common agreement the merchants of Fifth Avenue restrict the amount and kind of signs used. In addition, these merchants have agreed not to have window displays lighted at night. They are entirely willing to give Broadway—the "Great White Way"—a monopoly of blazing electricity. This is a gesture of disdain for catch-penny commercial advantage, which, it is believed, the public appreciates. Another feature of Fifth Avenue is that the association does not desire to have crowds of people on the Avenue at night or on Sundays.

The Fifth Avenue Association maintains an anti-nuisance committee of fifteen mem-

bers, who have taken the oath of service in the city's Sanitary Reserve, and wear badges of authority which enable them to act peremptorily in their vigilance work of protecting the Avenue. They endeavor to eliminate uncovered refuse receptacles, the dropping of waste matter, expectoration on the sidewalks, unnecessary smoke from buildings and motor cars, and other nuisances. They discourage and prevent signs, bill posting, noises, trucking and sidewalk ship-



The residential section of Fifth Avenue from Fifty-eighth Street to 110th Street

ping abuses, and loitering. Executives from the association make inspections every day, both day and night, to keep the avenue up to these precious maintained standards. In addition, the association makes ample preparations in advance for especially prompt snow removal. That is why the avenue is more effectively and immediately cleared of snow than almost any street in New York.

The most striking triumph of the association was the coordination of action which resulted in the exodus of the garment factories from Fifth Avenue and the formation of the Garment Capitol, a zone in another part of the city on Seventh Avenue. The "Save New York" campaign, which began eight or nine years ago, when the prize retail section of the city was in imminent danger of disaster from the garment factory employes who crowded the streets, resulted in an amicable understanding between the garment manufacturers and retailers, whose interests were fundamentally the same. The result was the prevention of factories in a zone reaching from Thirty-fourth Street north to Central Park between Seventh and Third Avenues. No manufacturing plants were to be permitted in the entire zone. By wise building and real estate concentration, a district on Seventh Avenue centering around Thirty-sixth Street was developed, and now is a skyscraper district, splendidly adapted for the concentrated, specialized textile industries.

Fifth Avenue now, from Thirty-fourth to Fifty-ninth Street, maintains its character without hindrance. Even the recent coming of Woolworth's Five and Ten Cent stores and Childs restaurants, although somewhat proletarian in character, have in no way detracted from the dignity of the avenue. A new broadening of this thoroughly successful movement is now under way for the extension of this zone from the Flatiron Building, as the tip of the triangle, so that the new shopping zone will extend up Broadway from Twenty-third Street to Columbus Circle, and include the previously un-included sector of Fifth and Madison

Avenues from Twenty-third Street to Thirty-fourth Street and Broadway and a lower Broadway zone from Twenty-third to Thirty-fourth Street.

Some new trade centres are now finding their equilibrium in these well-planned zones. Madison Avenue has had an interesting development and is beginning a silk centre at Thirty-fourth Street. A jewelry centre is taking shape in the neighborhood of Forty-seventh Street and Fifth Avenue. Maiden Lane is losing its century-old jewelry prestige in favor of the new centre uptown. The entire retail zone is being reanimated by some of the building developments on upper Fifth Avenue. The widening of Madison and Lexington Avenues, the elimination of the Sixth Avenue elevated spur and other improvements within this zone tend to enhance its value. One of the definite evidences of the Fifth Avenue Association's foresight has been its thorough cooperation with merchants in other parts of the zone for the general good.

Robert Grier Cooke, who, when he died, had been President of the Fifth Avenue Association for seventeen years, had recently returned from a tour of Paris, Berlin, London and Edinburgh, where he studied civic conditions. In London, he learned that a Bond Street Association had been formed along the lines and under the inspiration of the Fifth Avenue Association. Regent Street had also been engaged in forming such an association. Mr. Cooke found that the fame of Fifth Avenue was very wide abroad and that its reputation as a street rested quite as much upon its sagacious management as upon its unique character and history.

The proof of the value of the careful development of Fifth Avenue lies in the extraordinary rises in value that have occurred. Some of these are classic instances of how land values increase. The history of the southwest corner of Thirty-fifth Street and Fifth Avenue may be taken as one of more than usual interest. August Belmont, in 1852, bought it for \$35,000, little more than one-half of the

commission on the sale of the same property in 1905 at \$1,100,000. Again, the northwest corner of Forty-second Street and Fifth Avenue, which in 1902 was leased for twenty years at a rental of \$55,000, was in 1921 re-leased at \$395,000 per year; a sum equivalent to 5 per cent. interest on \$7,900,000. Probably the one and one-half miles of midtown Fifth Avenue represents more valuable real estate than any similar district throughout the world.

Fifth Avenue as a social setting is greatly transformed. No more than twenty years ago horse-driven buses on Fifth Avenue mingled in a traffic composed practically in entirety of horse-drawn vehicles. The shopping of society was done in the familiar open

barouches, giving Fifth Avenue a colorful air which the motor cars of today, so nearly uniform in color and shape, lack. Even the traditional Easter parade on Fifth Avenue has lost something of its former distinction, a result of the disintegration of the old social pomp and ceremony, and the natural pressure of democratic conditions. Fifth Avenue is today a great democratic business street belonging to no particular group, but becoming like most other American institutions, free from the snobbery of class and based upon the actual conditions of an ever-widening wealth distribution. It is a great business street of dignity, importance, pleasure-giving artistry and usefulness, and an index to the prosperity and power of the United States.

Recent Scientific Developments

By WATSON DAVIS

Managing Editor, Science Service

THE more man learns about ether radiations, ranging from the very long electrical waves to the very short X-rays, the more important he finds them to be in his life. Rickets has been a disease with a dual cure. Both the administration of cod-liver oil and exposure to sunshine have allowed the body to utilize mineral salts and convert them into perfect bone material. It was found that the ultra-violet light in the sunshine was responsible for the curative action, since radiation from mercury quartz lamps, which are strong in the ultra-violet rays, produced the same effect as sunlight itself. The effectiveness of cod-liver oil and other foods curative of rickets had been attributed to a mysterious vitamin called the antirachitic factor. Why rickets could be cured by such dissimilar treatments as consuming vitamin and sitting in the sun was a scientific mystery, which has now been solved. Cod-liver oil and other substances curative of

rickets are bottled sunshine. When substances curative of rickets are exposed to the air or utilized in the body, they actually give off ultra-violet light.

This was the discovery of Professor I. Newton Kugelmass and Dr. Irvine McQuarrie of the Department of Pediatrics of Yale University. Dr. Walter F. Baughman and George S. Jamieson of the Bureau of Chemistry of the United States Department of Agriculture also found that oils and fatty acids, such as the substances curative of rickets and those exposed to the sun, give off a radiation strong enough to darken a photographic plate.

The recent work of Professor Harry Steenbock of the University of Wisconsin showed that various foods, not antirachitic, when exposed to the sun, became as effective in preventing rickets as foods containing the antirachitic vitamin. Dr. A. E. Hess of Columbia University obtained the same effect from cottonseed oil exposed to ultra-violet

rays from a mercury lamp. It was also known that children and young animals who received frequent sun baths did not develop rickets whether they received the antirachitic factor or not. It seemed reasonable, therefore, to conclude that sunlight changes foods in some way, converting part of their substance into the antirachitic vitamin, or at least something "just as good."

The experiments of Professor Kugel-mass and Dr. McQuarrie showed that substances curative of rickets, like cod-liver oil, as well as substances lacking in that power, produced photographic effects on the plates when placed in close proximity, but that the curative substances produced a stronger effect than the others. They would work through screens of quartz, while the non-curative substances would not. This proved that the photographic effect was due to ultra-violet rays and not to ordinary light, because none of the curative substances could work when separated from the plate by ordinary glass, which is opaque to ultra-violet. It seemed clear, therefore, that the curative effects of the antirachitic diet was bound up in some way with the giving off of ultra-violet rays by substances in the food.

An entirely new effect was noted in these experiments. All the food materials studied, whether they were in themselves curative or not, became capable of affecting photographic plates when they were treated with oxygen. When the oxygen was driven out again, they lost the power. The more highly oxydized the substances became, the more strongly could they affect the plate. The Yale scientists concluded that the power of giving off ultra-violet rays, and therefore the value in the treatment of rickets, was dependent upon oxidation. They further stated:

These experiments point strongly to the common property of emitting ultra-violet rays, of cod liver oil, egg yolk, sperm oil, bile, hydroquinone, on the one hand, and of sunlight or quartz mercury vapor radiation, on the other, as the basis for their identical curative action in rickets. The experiments may be applicable to physiologic phenomena in general.

Not only do they suggest the mechanism common to all rickets-healing processes and imply a method to measure the therapeutic potency of the curative agents, but they also disclose the fact that solar energy exerts a hitherto neglected function in the physiology of higher organisms, as well as in plants.

Such discoveries as these make us more receptive to the idea that light may affect our health and wellbeing in other ways. Dr. H. A. Gardner of the research laboratories of the Paint Manufacturers' Association, found that young animals grow more rapidly in rooms the walls of which are painted in bright, cheerful colors, than they do in dark-painted apartments. Children also, presumably, are affected in the same way. Dr. Gardner experimented with guinea pigs. He placed young animals in cages which had been painted inside in various colors and weighed them at intervals for forty days. At the end of the period the animals kept in white and light-colored cages had made rapid growth, while those in black or dark-colored cages were stunted. The guinea pigs in pale blue, white, and light tan cages showed gains in weight of approximately 31, 29 and 20 per cent., respectively; those in dark green cages had gained only 8 per cent., the ones in black cages about 4 per cent., while the unfortunates in dark red prisons had put on less than 2 per cent. increase in weight. The shorter the wave length of the light, the greater the growth. Light-colored and white surfaces reflect a large share of the light that falls on them, while black and dark colors absorb most of it. The modern system of having walls and ceilings of homes, schools and factories painted in white or in light colors, thus appears to have a hitherto unsuspected scientific backing.

Moonlight has also recently come in for its share of investigation. An English scientist, Miss Elizabeth S. Semmens, was told by a gardener that seeds planted in the first quarter of the moon germinated better than when planted in the dark of the moon. This set her to experimenting and she found that in



Gilliams

Rod of fused quartz that is able to transmit the terrific heat from an oxyacetylene torch and yet may be touched by an experimenter without being burned

different samples of the same seed exposed to moonlight and to sunlight, the seeds that the moon shone on were germinated in larger numbers. This appeared to be an absurd result, for moonlight is half a million times weaker than sunlight and, moreover, moonlight is simply reflected sunlight. That is where the difference seems to lie, for a large portion of reflected light is polarized, that is, light whose vibrations move in only one plane rather than in all planes. Though the eye cannot tell the difference between polarized light and ordinary light, Miss Semmens's experiments seem to indicate that polarized light was more effective in digesting starch within the leaf of the plant or on the microscope slide. Her experiments did not bring any immediate practical results, but they opened up a new field of investigations.

Meanwhile, older discoveries in the field of radiation are being put to new

use. The X-ray, which had previously been the instrument of the physicist and the physician, recently came to the aid of the plumber, electrician, jeweler and builder, when Dr. W. D. Coolidge, inventor of the Coolidge X-ray tube, devised in the research laboratories of the General Electric Company a new portable X-ray machine that weighed only thirty pounds and that could be plugged into an ordinary electric light socket. The whole apparatus was contained within a box less than a foot square, and the pushing of a button produced the penetrating radiation. Crystals produce characteristic diffraction patterns when a small beam of X-rays is shot through the stone and observed in a fluoroscope, allowing the new apparatus to be used in testing the genuineness of diamonds and other precious stones.

The question whether the animal eye, if transplanted from one individual to another, can actually see, has aroused discussion between biologists and physicians of two continents. Recent experiments were made in this field by Dr. Theodore Koppanyi, a biologist at the University of Chicago. It was believed that if Dr. Koppanyi's eye transplantation experiments proved successful, they might eventually be of immense importance in surgery. Professor Joseph Imre Jr., head of the Department of Diseases of the Eye in the State University of Pecs in Budapest, commented not long ago on Dr. Koppanyi's experiments on rats and rabbits in attempts to find out whether or not an animal with a transplanted eye could see. He described how Dr. Koppanyi cut the muscles and cut tissues around the eyeball and left the eye in place with no proof that the optic nerve was cut through. He stated, furthermore, that in every case in which the operation was witnessed by physicians and the eyeball was removed from its place, there was never any other result but complete destruction of the eye. Professor Imre believed that even if the optic nerve could grow again, a condition which had never been established, and even if there were a possibility of transplanting

a complete eye from one man to another, the question could not have any practical importance, because no physician should be allowed to remove, and no physician with any conscience would remove, an eye with good vision for the purpose of making a rather uncertain experiment.

Professor A. J. Carlson of the Department of Physiology in the University of Chicago, under whom Dr. Koppanyi had been working, pointed out that the transplanted eyes had undergone varying degrees of change, from complete destruction to mere cloudiness of the tissues. Most of the cause for failure was believed to be secondary infection. In the most successful experiments the transplanted eye appeared normal in size; the cloudiness cleared up, and, so far as the scientists had been able to determine, there might be some return of vision. Professor Carlson believed that Dr. Koppanyi's work demonstrated definitely that transplantation could be carried out with at least partial success on the spotted rat. He pointed out that it remained to be seen whether such results could be duplicated in the dog and the monkey, and if these were achieved there still remained a very high percentage of complete or partial failure which must be converted into success before any one would be justified in attempting any such operation on man.

The discovery of a tribe of "White Indians" in Panama and the bringing of three children of this tribe to the United States in the interests of scientific study have aroused the interest of the scientific world. The children, named respectively Marguerite, Olo and Chepu, were brought by R. O. Marsh, an American civil engineer, from the Darien region near the Panama Canal Zone as samples of the thousand White Indians whom he discovered living in the proximity of the brown tribes of this region. A committee of scientists, consisting of Dr. Ales Hrdlicka, anthropologist of the Smithsonian Institution, as Chairman; Dr. Charles B. Davenport, director of the Department of Genetics of the Carnegie Institution of Washing-

ton; and Dr. C. W. Stiles of the United States Public Health Service, inspected the children and issued the following statement:

The problem of the White Indians is one of much scientific interest, but its satisfactory solution is possible only by a detailed and all-sided study of these people and their families in their own country. The committee is of the opinion that these investigations should be conducted simultaneously by anthropologists, geneticists and pathologists.

One explanation of the White Indians is that they are the beginning of a new race, duplicating what happened many thousands of years ago when the present white race evolved from dark skinned stock. If this is so, the White Indians are what is known as biologic "sports," a condition of extreme scientific interest because of its bearing on the biological problems of man. The anthropologists, ethnologists and biologists who examined the White Indians, however, were unable to agree upon any cause for their white skin, hazel-brown eyes, yellow hair, and red gums, combined with Indian features of a superior type. Other theories of causes and origins that were suggested may thus be summarized.

1—The White Indians are albinos or partial albinos. This is a name that does not explain their origin nor does it take into account the difference that exists between the White Indians and the typical albino occasionally seen among other races whose hair and eyes are totally devoid of pigment. Some anthropologists have called the White Indians albinos, while other anthropologists and biologists declare that they do not exhibit albinism as they understand it.

2—Some disease or pathologic condition has prevented pigmentation and this lack of coloring matter in the skin has become so fixed in the race that it is inherited from generation to generation as an acquired characteristic. The White Indians are not sick in the ordinary sense of the word, and the three White Indian children brought to this country by Mr. Marsh are in better health and more mentally alert than the average white child.

3—The White Indians are the result of a mixture of white or Nordic blood with the brown Indian blood. If this is so, it must have occurred many years before Columbus discovered America, because his records and those of Balboa and later explorers tell of White

Indians in Central America and Panama at the time of their explorations. One suggestion is that the Vikings and Norsemen who discovered and settled New England in the twelfth century found the climate too cold for them, took to their ships, went south and mixed with the Maya and Aztecs of Mexico, who later emigrated to Panama, becoming the ancestors of the present White Indians. There are records also of a Welsh nobleman sailing with a large company in the direction of America in 1207 and some believe that an admixture of these early voyagers resulted in the White Indians seen by Balboa and now discovered by Mr. Marsh.

It was reported that Mr. Marsh had organized an expedition to penetrate the unknown territory of Panama occupied by this race. The party, scheduled to leave in January, was to have the co-operation of leading scientific institutions and was to include competent scientists.

The planet Mars recently paid the earth a neighborly visit. Astronomer W. H. Wright of Lick Observatory took advantage of the close approach of the planet and photographed it by light of different colors. As a result, he seriously invalidated the idea that the famous polar caps of Mars are made of ice or snow that melts seasonally. He attributed them largely to clouds, haze, or other atmospheric phenomena. It is a comparatively dense atmosphere that envelops the ruddy planet, Mr. Wright found. The general opinion had previously prevailed that the atmosphere on Mars is very thin. It was found that as the color screens and plates used in the observations approached the violet end of the spectrum the surface markings of the planet, except the polar cap, faded from the image and even disappeared completely with the employment of blue and violet light. The polar cap, for its part, became, with these changes, progressively more marked. If light from opposite extremities of the visible spectrum, the infra-red and violet, was used it was found that the one rendered a picture rich in detail and high in contrast, while the other supplied an image barren of both, except that the polar cap and a few imperma-

nent features stood out in greater strength. The violet light image was the larger of the two and indicated a Martian atmosphere 100 miles thick.

This difference in aspect of the planet, when viewed by light of the two ends of the spectrum, was interpreted as resulting from the presence of a Martian atmosphere of considerable density which, like the atmosphere of the earth, scatters and absorbs light of short wavelength, such as blue and violet light, but readily transmits the long-waved infra-red light. The infra-red photographs obviously represented the planet's surface, since they recorded the familiar permanent markings which are seen in the telescope and are known to be part of the planet; while, considered in the light of the foregoing hypothesis, the violet images were photographs of the planet's atmospheric shell, made with the light that it scatters. The fact that the polar caps were exceptionally clear in the supposed photographs of the atmosphere led to the conclusion that they are, to a great extent, atmospheric phenomena, possibly clouds or banks of haze which may overlies solid caps of smaller dimensions on the surface of the planet.

There is much of importance on our own earth that is not yet discovered. For instance, the ocean's deepest spot was recently reported by a Japanese surveying ship to be in the Pacific off Japan. The bottom at this point is 6.18 miles, or 32,636 feet, below the surface. At this spot, Mt. Everest, rising 29,002 feet above sea level, could be sunk without a trace.

Within the ocean there may be mines of gold as rich as some of those on land. The small results of the various schemes proposed and followed in the past for extracting gold from sea water had a tendency to discourage further efforts. Professor Fritz Haber of the University of Berlin, however, inventor of the Haber process for the fixation of nitrogen, believing in the possibilities of extraction of gold from sea water, recently requested the United States Bureau of Fisheries to furnish him samples of the

coastal waters of the North American continent for analysis. He explained to Bureau of Fisheries officials, however, that he no longer considered his experiments as commercially valuable and was pursuing them only with the hope of increasing scientific knowledge. The actual procuring of gold from sea water was, he said, an accomplished fact, but the quantities obtained were so minute and the expense so great that he believed the process could never be made profitable. He expected, however, to discover the interrelation of waters, the courses of ocean currents, and the history of various sections of the sea through the mineral deposits. The amounts of mineral, whether gold, silver or less valuable minerals, differ according to geographic location of the water, and in many cases this difference is very marked.

The best available data at present on the presence of gold in sea water gives the following figures for different locations, bearing out Professor Haber's claims of wide variation according to locality: Deep-sea water from the Atlantic Ocean has from 0.015 to 0.267 part of gold per million parts of liquid; water from Christiania Fjord, Norway, from 0.005 to 0.006; from the coast of New South Wales, 0.032 to 0.065; and from the coast of New Zealand 0.005 part of metal per million parts of sea water. On land the lowest gold deposits which it has been found profitable to operate contain about 0.14 part of gold

per million parts of gravel which does not have to be crushed to extract the precious metal. It will be noted that some sea water contains nearly twice as much gold as the lowest-grade gold deposit on land found profitable to operate.

It was reported from Germany that cocaine had been manufactured artificially by chemical means in the laboratory of Professor Richard Willstaetter at Berlin. Three different methods had proved successful in the production of cocaine alkaloids, and one of the compounds, named "psicain," was said to be a satisfactory substitute for cocaine in every way. The synthetic compound had the same structure as natural cocaine but opposite optical activity. The present source of cocaine is the South American coca tree, the leaves of which must be imported at considerable expense. It was thought that the present discovery, resulting from a sixty-year search for a synthetic cocaine, might make a more reliable drug available to the medical profession at a lower price. Cocaine is worth about \$100 a pound, but the primary materials used in the preparation of the new compound were not expensive. The synthetic substitutes for cocaine, such as novocaine or procaine, do not form drug habits like the natural cocaine. But if cocaine like that obtained from the leaf can be made in any laboratory it is likely to nullify the laws and treaties against its importation.



Armies and Navies of the World

By GRASER SCHORNSTHEIMER

THE UNITED STATES

THE German-built rigid type Zeppelin ZR-3 arrived at the naval air station at Lakehurst, N. J., at 9:52 A. M. on Oct. 15, after completing a non-stop voyage of 5,000 miles in 80½ hours. The big dirigible left the German sheds at Friedrikshafen on Oct. 12 at 6:35 A. M., sailing across Germany and France and putting to sea over the Bay of Biscay. The route of the ship was over the Azores to New York, but high winds forced a more northerly course and the Zeppelin first sighted American soil over the Newfoundland Banks. She proceeded to Lakehurst by the way of Boston and New York. The journey was a world's record in non-stop air flights.

Commanded by Dr. Hugo Eckner, President of the Zeppelin Company, and operated by a picked German crew, the ship fulfilled the highest expectations of the American observers, headed by Captain G. W. Steele, U. S. N., and consisting of three navy officers and one army officer. Some concern was felt on this side of the Atlantic because the ZR-3 made the trip with the highly explosive hydrogen gas in her envelopes. This fear was, however, unfounded. The Zeppelin received a two-foot rip in one of her envelopes and functioned perfectly with the hydrogen. It is intended that the ZR-3 shall be operated with helium when under naval control, though at present there is not enough helium at Lakehurst to fill both the ZR-3 and the Shenandoah. The dirigible was obtained by the United States under the reparations agreement. She is officially classed as a merchant type and under the agreement cannot be armed.

While the ZR-3 was making a world's record for a non-stop flight, the navy-built Shenandoah made a new world's record for a long distance flight. She left Lakehurst on Oct. 6 and proceeded

to Camp Lewis, Washington, by way of Fort Worth and Los Angeles. At her stopping points temporary mooring masts had been erected and the ship made the entire trip without accident of any importance. Near Camp Lewis the ship was forced to discharge some of the precious helium because of contrary winds. The Shenandoah ended her trip at Lakehurst on Oct. 25 at 8:30 P. M. and was berthed beside the ZR-3 in the great hangar. The Chief of Naval Aviation, Rear Admiral W. A. Moffet, made the trip aboard the Shenandoah—this being the first instance of an American Admiral flying his flag from a dirigible. The Shenandoah, though longer than the ZR-3, is proportionately smaller in all particulars.

Lieutenant R. A. Ofsie, U. S. N., flying a navy CR-3 seaplane equipped with a 465-horsepower Curtiss motor, broke the record held in England for the 100-kilometer flight. At the naval air meet at Bay Shore, Long Island, N. Y., Lieutenant Ofsie covered 100 kilometers in 21 minutes 4 seconds, making an average speed of 176.82 miles per hour. The British record was 129.75 miles per hour.

During target practice off the Virginia Capes on Oct. 20 an explosion occurred in the forward 6-inch gun house of the cruiser Trenton. Of the nineteen men in the gun house, one officer and three men were killed outright and nine others subsequently died. Four more men were reported in a very dangerous condition.

The battleship Florida, a unit of the eighteen first-line fighting ships which America retained under the Arms Conference, has been laid up at the Boston Navy Yard as being unfit for sea. A maintenance party has replaced her crew. The U. S. S. Constitution is in a similar condition, and unless funds are speedily made available for her preservation it will be necessary to destroy the ship.

JAPAN

The intention of the Japanese Navy Department to continue the extensive building program of cruisers, destroyers, submarines and other types is clearly indicated by the following statement of the Minister of the Navy, Admiral Hyo Takarabe, before the Cabinet Council on Oct. 7:

The Ministry of Finance is trying to bring about the postponement of the program for the construction of auxiliary craft on the supposition that war will not occur in the near future or that war is impossible. But we cannot rely on such a supposition and we cannot safely state that there will not be a time in the future when Japan will be forced to start a war, although reluctantly, due to the divergencies of views between nations. I am absolutely opposed to further postponement of the program for the construction of auxiliary vessels and desire to maintain what is necessary for the national defense.

In an interview, Admiral Takarabe made this additional statement:

It is very unfortunate that the naval appropriations have been limited by the earthquake and the Government's policy of retrenchment, but I must rest assured that while I, Admiral Takarabe, am alive and hold the portfolio of the navy, none shall interfere in the affairs of the navy. I shoulder the entire heavy responsibility for the defense of the empire.

Admiral Takarabe, let it be added, has gained his point.

Throughout the world there has been much speculation concerning the supposed purchase by Japan of the plans of Professor Flamm for supersubmarines of from 3,000 tons surface displacement and upward. It was understood that Professor Flamm had been approached by Mr. Ritsa Makino concerning his designs for large submarines and that after many conferences Mr. Makino went back to Japan with a trunk full of plans. Then came a much-discussed rumor that the Flamm plans have been incorporated with the Kaigun-type submarine, the Japanese navy type, and vessels of 3,000 tons with 8-inch guns were to be built at the Kure and Yokosuka dockyards. However, according to responsible authorities to whom

this matter has been referred, it is doubtful if Japanese interests, public or private, have purchased the ideas of Professor Flamm.

ITALY

A new program for the construction of eighteen units has been outlined. It calls for eight destroyers of 1,300 tons, 35 knots, six large cruising submarines and four mine-layers.

The experimental aircraft carrier Giuseppe Miroglia is about ready to join the fleet at Spezia. This vessel displaces only 4,500 tons, has a speed of 11 knots and is turbine driven. It is understood that already she is regarded as entirely too small for her purpose and that the Italians are dissatisfied with her.

The manoeuvres held in August were under the direction of Admiral Acton, who represented the Italian Navy at the Washington Arms Conference. The problem was the maintenance of communications with Tripoli in the event of an attack by an enemy proceeding from the Black Sea.

RUSSIA

The announcement by the Bofors Ordnance Company of Stockholm that it had received contracts for \$2,500,000 in munitions in September and an additional contract for \$5,000,000 in October has created some surprise throughout Europe. It has been said that the bulk of these contracts are for field artillery for the Soviet Army and that other contracts are for guns up to 6 inches and torpedos for the Soviet navy. Strictly speaking there is no "Soviet navy." There are, however, the "navies of the Federated Soviet Republics." This in itself creates such a disorganization among the Russian forces as to make a concentrated naval force efficient for whatever duty it may be called upon to perform, quite impossible. The following information was received from a most reliable source, but owing to the difficulties attendant in obtaining such data it is given with reserve:

The two major units of the Soviet

navies are the battleships *Parishkaya Kommuna* and the *Marat* of 23,000 tons, 23 knots and carrying twelve 12-inch guns. They are by far the most powerful naval units in the Baltic Sea, but, according to reports, their mechanical condition is such that they must spend most of their time tied up. They are in a filthy condition and diseases of all kinds are rife among their crews. A few old officers of the Russian Navy are aboard, together with a number of former German warrant and petty officers. Throughout the Soviet forces discipline is notoriously bad, and it is doubtful if any of their vessels could be brought into action.

The cruiser *Svietlana* is reported as complete, but unarmed. She is a 7,000-ton ship, having a speed of 30 knots. The destroyer forces consist of two 1,610-ton flotilla leaders of 35 knots, the *Volodorski*, formerly the *Pobieditel*, and the *Aritski*, formerly the *Zabiaka*, and twelve destroyers, as follows: Of 1,350 tons, 35 knots, the *Karl Marx* (ex-*Isyaslav*) and *Priamislav* (both vessels are said to be in fair condition, the *Priamislav* being completed only last year); of 1,260 tons, 35 knots, *Trotsky* (ex-Lt. *Ilyin*), *Lenin* (ex-Kaptan *Isylmettiev*), *Zinoviev* (ex-*Azard*), *Engels* (ex-*Desna*) and *Stalin* (ex-*Samsun*) (the first two of these ships may be fit for service, although all have partial crews); of 500 tons, 27 knots, the *Alfater* (ex-Turkman), speed now 20 knots; the *Markin* (ex-Ukrana), speed now 23 knots, and the *Voiskovoi*, speed now 20 knots. These three vessels are said to constitute the only organized destroyer flotilla in the Soviet navies. The

Alfater is the flotilla leader. Finally come the destroyers *Sladkov* (ex-*Vsadnik*), of 570 tons, 25 knots, and the *Roshal* (ex-*Krepki*), of 330 tons, 27 knots.

The Baltic submarine flotilla consists of nine boats, of which four are said to be serviceable and three capable of going to sea under the present personnel. It is understood that the officers for the last-mentioned ships were obtained from the ranks of private German firms which manufactured submarines during the war. Eight of the boats displace 650 tons on the surface and 784 tons submerged. The speeds are 16 knots surface and 9 knots submerged. The ninth boat is a vessel of 250 tons surface displacement. In addition to these ships the Russians operate a number of fast motor patrol boats armed with torpedoes, two mine layers, some auxiliaries and depot ships and a number of small mine sweepers and harbor craft.

When the Russo-German pact, nullified at Lausanne, was in force plans were made to combine the Soviet forces each year for manoeuvres, but so far as is known the 1922 manoeuvres were the only ones ever held. It is stated that no former German naval officers are in the Soviet forces in any capacity. However, a number of warrant and petty officers seem to have found berths for themselves. In short, the Soviet navies are a highly disorganized force, utterly incapable of giving battle to any reasonable opponent or even manoeuvring together. Morally and mechanically, the forces seem impossible of redemption under the present Government.



The Deadly Weapons of Chemical Warfare

New Uses of Poisonous Devices Disclosed in Annual Report
by General Fries.

BELOW is printed the text of the introductory section of the annual report of Brig. Gen. Amos A. Fries, Chief of the Chemical Warfare Service of the United States Army, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1924. These introductory remarks cover "a brief outline of the outstanding features of the Chemical Warfare Service's contribution to the defense of the nation in war and the benefit of mankind in peace."

1. On June 30, 1924, the Chemical Warfare Service completed its first four years as a component part of the Regular Army of the United States—four years of growth, development and overcoming obstacles. In addition to the character of difficulties encountered by

every new service there have been special ones with which the Chemical Warfare Service has had to contend. Nevertheless, steady advance in the science and development of the service has gone on.

2. Particular attention has been given to perfecting materials, methods and tactics of equipment and substances developed in the World War, many of which, while usable, were in a poorly developed state. A great deal of advance has been made in the work of cooperation with other branches of the army. Special attention has been given to the needs of the various combatant arms of the service as well as to the supply services.

3. With an ever widening field of research being opened up and continuing deficient appropriations, a plan is being put into effect for the fiscal year 1925 where ten or a dozen projects will be given what is known as "AA" priority. These are the projects which it is deemed are of paramount importance and which should be pushed to completion within a year if possible. Some of these apply to the army as a whole, some to special branches of the army, including the Chemical Warfare Service, and occasionally some of wide general benefit. Other projects are then given priority in accordance with what is deemed most necessary after full consultation with all departments of the Government.

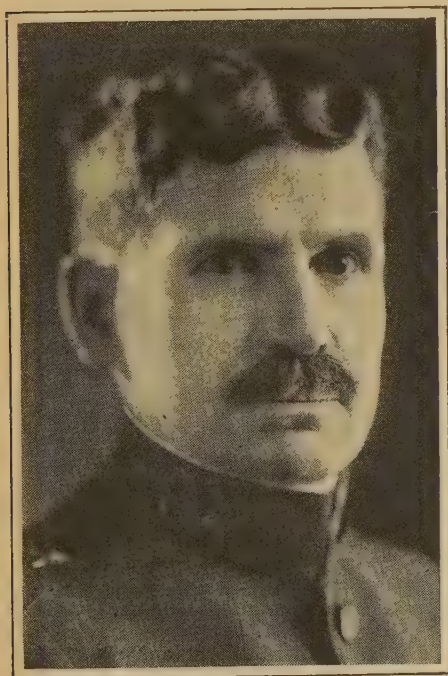
4. One of the most outstanding developments has been the perfection of apparatus and materials for sprinkling a smoke curtain from airplanes. The idea of sprinkling so-called gases from airplanes was discussed during the World War. Following the development of apparatus for sprinkling slowly volatile liquids such as mustard gas, the suggestion was made that highly volatile liquids might be sprinkled in the same way. One of these suggestions included titanium tetrachloride. That hydrolyzes into smoke very rapidly—in fact it hydrolyzes so rapidly that each drop forms a streamer of smoke as it falls; a great number of drops with the corresponding streamer forms the curtain.

5. This development has the widest possible application in war. It is as useful on sea as on land. It combines the speed of the airplane with the efficiency of a perfect screening smoke delivered where needed. Where the curtain can be sprinkled it avoids the loss of powder and shell in transporting smoke material by shell fire. On the sea it could place a curtain entirely around an opposing fleet if desired; on land it can be used practically without limit.

6. The curtain may be high or low. It may be very dense or so thin as to only partially obscure. By utilizing the largest drops and low height, the drops will strike the earth and continue to add to the density of the curtain for several minutes.

7. For demonstration purposes alone the smoke curtain is invaluable in peace. Wherever a curtain can be dropped, gases may be dropped. The slowly volatile gases such as mustard gas can be dropped from far greater heights and in places where the screen can not be used.

8. Considerable progress has been made in the development of the use of phosphorus for smoke screens for attacking personnel and for incendiary effect. Phosphorus is one of



Harris & Ewing

BRIG. GEN. AMOS A. FRIES
Chief of the Chemical Warfare Service of the
United States Army

the best all-around useful materials in war. It is highly effective against personnel since the burning phosphorus can be extinguished only by immersion in water or oil. Its effect on the morale of troops against which it is used is tremendous. The World War showed that those most daring of German soldiers, machine gunners, would not stand up under the fire of phosphorus shell. Experiments of the Chemical Warfare Service have shown how powerful it is. It may be used on sea against ships to interfere with anti-aircraft gunners and for driving men under cover. Frequent fires in brush and slight burns on the decks of battleships show that it has more incendiary effect than it was formerly given credit for. However, its incendiary value in war is very slight compared with its value in attacking personnel and for smoke screening purposes. For use in shells, airplane bombs and grenades it is the best of all materials for establishing a smoke curtain. The burning particles give continuity to the curtain while its obscuring power is unexcelled by any other smoke material known.

9. The United States stands pre-eminent in its ability to produce phosphorus. For its own safety it should push the spread of knowledge of how to use phosphorus throughout the entire army. In attacking personnel it can with the greatest benefit replace high explosive practically 50 per cent. of the time. But little study has been given to its use; more must be given if our army is not to fall behind in this most useful of materials. The phosphorus in rock form exists in many localities in the United States and in tremendous quantities.

10. Perhaps the most interesting event of the last two years, and particularly of the last year, is the growth of chemical warfare development throughout the nations of the world. The United States was the first one to fully and openly recognize its standing and its value in the defense of the nation. Several other countries started a more or less extensive study into chemical warfare but kept results a rather close military secret. However, it was universally recognized that chemical warfare bore a very close relation to the chemical industry; therefore, some nations that at first did not publicly give a great deal of attention to chemical warfare made every effort to develop a chemical industry. The coal tar dye industry, because of its very wide ramifications, is most generally spoken of in connection with war gases; however, coal tar is just as intimately concerned with high explosives as with war gases.

11. In this connection it is worth repeating that war gases are simply powerful chemicals. Almost any chemical known can be made a war gas if desired. The term gas is a misnomer. It arose like many another phrase from the conditions of its first use. Chlorine at ordinary temperatures is a true gas; chlorine was the first powerful chemical used successfully in war. The term "war gas" today includes any substance, gas, liquid or solid that a country may determine to use in war for the purpose of producing casualties by chemical action on the bodies of men or animals. This chemical action can affect the lungs, eyes, skin, blood, or all combined. The term "gas" also refers to a substance which is ordinarily carried to its target by the air. As stated, the chemical may be a true gas, liquid or solid at ordinary temperatures. If a liquid, it may be caused to evaporate rapidly by being widely dispersed by high explosive; if a solid it may be dissolved as a liquid and dispersed by high explosive or sprayed under pressure. It may be combined with some burning mixture as smokeless powder and driven off by heat.

12. Literally there are thousands of chemicals that can be used. Very few are used because only the most powerful and readily

available ones are efficient. Efficiency spells success in war no less than in peace. Among the scores of high explosives known only a very few are used in war for similar reasons to those given for war gases.

13. Much has been said of new gases being discovered. Agitators and careless speakers refer to some of these gases in terms that indicate that they have supernatural powers. That is ridiculously erroneous. It is also seriously misleading. Chemicals have very definite limits to their power. In that way mustard gas is still the king of gases; for all-around usefulness in war there is nothing in sight to displace it. Undoubtedly more powerful chemicals will be discovered—whether more useful or not remains to be seen. Usefulness depends on many things—the poisonous qualities of the chemical, how it poisons, whether it gives warning or whether it does not, whether the materials of which it is made are readily available and in great quantities, whether it can be manufactured easily or only with difficulty and, finally, whether it can be kept and handled in the field under conditions pertaining to war.

14. Carbon monoxide, the deadly part of illuminating gas, has many of the characteristics of the so-called ideal gas. It is colorless, odorless, tasteless, painless. If you can get it to the patient without the best kind of mask in the world, you will kill him. He has no means of detecting it and yet it has not been used as a war gas and no one as yet is able to see how it can be. The reason is that it cannot be liquidated at any ordinary temperature or pressure. It is also a little lighter than air and tends to rise under all conditions. The most effective war gas, on the other hand, is much heavier than air and tends to stay low.

15. Those who oppose any military establishments and would leave the nation defenseless, make use of exaggerated stories of the supposedly supernatural powers of gas. Their reasoning, of course, is fallacious. If gases had that supernatural power every nation that would remain free would have to be a complete master of such substances and methods of using them. Since mankind is so far removed from the millennium, all that deters those who would take that which does not belong to them is the power of retaliation.

16. Along with supernatural gases goes the continual talk of death rays, electrical currents and the like which will destroy all life at great distances. Practically all of these ideas are just as foolishly wrong as the supernatural gases. All known rays and power obey certain definite laws. Here and there advances are made in understanding those laws and directing them; but it is believed proper and safe to say that no real scientist can yet foresee the day when such control of these substances will be possible that life and machinery can be destroyed at anything but short distances—distances too short for any considerable use in war.

17. To keep abreast of all of these developments is the biggest job of the Chemical Warfare Service. It must be the instructor to the entire army and navy in the art of handling chemicals in war as no other organization is acquainted with them. It must teach the nation the peacetime uses of these substances since the nation itself does not know them. These things it has been doing. It teaches the army through its Chemical Warfare School and instructors in other schools. It teaches them through training in corps areas under Corps Area Chemical Warfare officers; it teaches them by demonstrations by its own chemical warfare troops that were in war and must remain combat troops. It teaches the nation at large by articles and interviews, by pictures and demonstrations and by making known to the public the full results of all its investigations that are of use to the public.

18. During the last six months there was

made known to the nation the value of chlorine gas in treating ordinary colds, bronchitis (acute and chronic), whooping cough and other infections of the nose, throat and lungs. The success of that treatment had been carefully demonstrated in experiments covering nearly a year and a half by officers of the Medical Corps working at Edgewood Arsenal under the Chemical Warfare Service. Perhaps no development in the treatment of diseases has spread so rapidly as the chlorine treatment. Following its successful application to the treatment of human beings it has been successful in influenza among horses and the same general type of disease among dogs. All throughout the nation clinics are being established in hospitals and in private institutions for administering chlorine. Many kinds of apparatus for administering it are on the market.

19. With a record of nearly three thousand cases treated at Edgewood Arsenal, in the office of the Chief of Chemical Warfare Service and in the office of the attending surgeon in Washington, conclusive proof has been obtained that chlorine effects cures in all the diseases mentioned. It is not a panacea, but wherever the chlorine can reach the germs of the diseases in sufficient concentrations it will kill them.

20. The most startling side of this work has been its cure of whooping cough. Practically 100 per cent. of whooping cough cases have been completely cured or the distressing symptoms nearly all banished. It is a boon to childhood such as is not found once in a generation.

21. This entire development was initiated and carried out by the Chemical Warfare Service with the aid and cooperation of the Medical Corps, which furnished trained pathologists and medical research men to carry out the technical details of the work.

22. Another war gas turned to peace uses of the utmost importance is a tear gas. As in all other cases, this tear gas in its ordinary state is not a gas; it is a solid. The gas used generally by the army and civilian organizations is chloracetophenone, a beautiful, white, crystalline solid. It is mixed with smokeless powder or other burning mixture and driven off as a smoke, or dissolved in benzene and carbon tetrachloride and driven off as a spray. In either way it is tremendously effective.

23. No human being has been found who will stand up before a heavy concentration of it. The one who feels it strike his eyes will forget everything but the desire to get out of it. He may know perfectly by practice and principle that no injury will result; he may know that within an hour or less his eyes will be cleared and no inconvenience suffered. He may know this as the result of dozens of trials and yet the gas affects him just as powerfully after a score of trials as on the first occasion.

24. It is used in policemen's clubs, in bombs, grenades, in bank vaults, storehouses, and even dwellings. It furnishes the police with a means of getting criminals out of barricaded buildings without loss of life; it furnishes a means of quelling riots in jails and penitentiaries and preventing escapes such as has not been offered by any other substance. It is one of the most benign substances used to control unruly gatherings, no matter what their nature. Like chlorine, it is a boon to mankind, and particularly to those who are charged with the thankless task of upholding the law in criminal cases in civil life generally.

25. Among other accomplishments of the Chemical Warfare Service in the past two years has been a decided extension of knowledge of chemicals to be used and methods of applying them in protecting wooden structures in sea water. Those structures in their natural condition, especially in southern

waters, are subject to rapid destruction by marine borers of different kinds. This work was carried on under a general plan of research on marine borers by the National Research Council. The Chemical Warfare Service took up the study from the point of view of poisonous chemicals. In that the service is expert; that is its job. It has more information on poisonous chemicals than exists in any other institution in America and possibly in the world.

26. New chemicals were studied and methods of applying them and of holding them in suspension for application. The result was a contribution of very decided value; two of the discoveries are being patented so as to protect the Government's rights and those of the general public.

27. The latest work to be undertaken by the Chemical Warfare Service is to assist in controlling that most serious agricultural pest in the United States—the cotton boll weevil. The Chemical Warfare appropriation for the fiscal year 1924 carries a proviso that not to exceed \$25,000 can be expended looking to the control of the boll weevil. The Chemical Warfare Service is going at this work systematically and energetically.

28. In order to avoid any repetition of work heretofore done every possible use is made of data gathered by the Department of Agriculture in its various bureaus. In addition, letters have been written to the Governors of every State producing cotton, asking for all information. Thus practically no study will be given to the cotton plant, none to the life habits of the boll weevil and but little or none to the soil in which cotton is grown. However, a systematic trial of powerful chemical poisons will be made to find which kills, injures or excites in any way the boll weevil most effectively. About one hundred chemicals have been tentatively decided upon. It is not anticipated that early results may be expected. It takes time to try these chemicals with care enough to be certain of results. Inasmuch as the boll weevil is available for but a comparatively short season, the work is a seasonal and intensive one. It is known that there are poisons from one thousand to five thousand times as poisonous as calcium arsenate, now considerably used to control the boll weevil. Whether any of this numerous group of chemicals can be used successfully to control the boll weevil is the main problem confronting the Chemical Warfare Service.

29. The mask has been referred to in previous reports as one of the real developments of tremendous use in peace. The usefulness of the mask is being appreciated more and more as the years go by. The industries are more and more employing them to protect their employes from dust and noxious fumes of gases; fire departments are gradually extending their use throughout the nation. Thus the health of employes and the saving of lives and property are a few of the benefits derived from mask development which received such impetus during the World War.

30. This covers a brief outline of the outstanding features of the Chemical Warfare Service's contribution to the defense of the nation in war and the benefit of mankind in peace. Its opportunities are as boundless as the realm of chemistry. Chemistry is the most universal of sciences today and the most necessary to progress. The work which the Chemical Warfare Service can do in preparation for defense and in aiding the nation in pursuits of peace depends on the funds available for it. Present funds are entirely too low for the Chemical Warfare Service to maintain the position it holds. With the growing interest in chemical warfare in other nations the United States bids fair to be far outstripped in this most essential science for peace or war, unless appropriations be at least trebled.

The Presidential Election in the United States

Continued from Page 328

one political column into another by tampering with the ballots or buying votes.

Efforts to carry on the election in a quiet and decorous manner were not entirely successful. Vice President-elect Dawes is by nature emphatic and hit hard whenever he could. The plane of Davis's speeches was in general high, though toward the end he sought to taunt President Coolidge on the Ku Klux Klan and the oil scandals and the League of Nations issue. Apparently this form of attack did not undermine the confidence of the Republican voters. Senator La Follette has always been a hard hitter, but apparently was so violent as to damage his own cause, especially toward the end of the campaign, by his violent assertions that the Republicans were "up to their knees in a slush fund." His main argument was an attempt to create the impression that the main purpose of the Republican Party was to misrepresent him. On the whole it was a respectable campaign with less than the average charges and counter-charges.

For weeks the daily papers carried the names of men supposedly of influence and power, who came out for one or another candidate, especially if this act involved giving up former political connections. A group of about forty Progressives of 1912 made it clear to the world that they did not consider that La Follette had been or was now a Progressive in the Rooseveltian sense. College Presidents and other respectable men announced that they had come over from Taft or Harding to Davis. Here again the returns did not seem to show that these announcements had an appreciable effect on the result.

Seldom has a Presidential election been accompanied by so many confused fights in the States. New York, with

its immense popular and large electoral vote always a focus of sharp conflicts, gave one of the liveliest campaigns in the country between Gov. Alfred E. Smith, successful candidate for re-election as Governor, and Theodore Roosevelt Jr., who made a running fight very much on the lines of that of his father in New York in 1898, both sides striking very hard. Still more lively and still less predictable were the contests in the Northwestern States where La Follette was strongest. In the early part of the campaign he seemed likely to carry most of the States west and north of Illinois so far as the Pacific, and efforts were probably made to secure a fusion of Davis and La Follette votes to prevent Coolidge from getting a majority in the Electoral College, thus throwing the election into the House. Much hard work and money were expended in rousing the voters in those States. As usual the solid South was to be depended upon as solidly Democratic. In Texas there was some doubt, as a large number of Democrats refused to vote, on the Ku Klux Klan issue, for Mrs. Ferguson who had the party nomination on an anti-Ku Klux platform, and reconciled it with their consciences to vote the Republican ticket. In Oklahoma the holder of the regular Democratic Senatorial nomination, Walton, was defeated by a combination of dissatisfied Democrats who elected the Republican candidate for United States Senator. The most remarkable change of supposed political sentiment was California, where it was at first believed that there was a strong La Follette majority, but which on the day of election showed an overwhelming majority over all for the Republicans. Highly comet-like was the candidacy of William Allen White, the well-known journalist of Kansas, who

nominated himself on an anti-Ku Klux Klan ticket, canvassed the State in his own car, and got votes, but was heavily defeated. Great efforts were made to capture the colored vote, especially in New York and Boston, for the Democratic candidate. No evidence has yet shown that it affected more than a few thousand votes.

The soldier vote as such was hardly traceable in the election. Coolidge, who prevented a money bonus from going through, must have received the votes of a couple of million service men. An effort to induce the women to vote together for women candidates and for men who favored an equal rights amendment to the Constitution attracted little attention. The results show there was no group voting. Efforts to corral the so-called German vote, "labor" vote or any class vote proved entirely abortive. Two women were elected Governors, in Texas and Wyoming, and two women were elected to Congress.

An unusual feature of the election was the official direction of Cardinal O'Connell of Boston to the clergy of his see to call the attention of their parishioners, and particularly the women voters, to a pending State referendum on the merits of the proposed Child Labor amendment to the Federal Constitution. This is perhaps the first time that all the members of a great national church, living within a particular district, have been admonished from the pulpit to cast their ballots in a particular way. The State cast a heavy vote against it.

THE VOTE ANALYZED

The total vote was greater than ever before cast in any election in the history of the world. The precise figures cannot be ascertained until the official reports are compiled, but the incomplete reports up to Nov. 10 indicated an approximate total of 29,000,000, against 26,674,171 in 1920; of the total President Coolidge received approximately 15,500,000, Davis 8,500,000, La Follette 4,500,000, and the other candi-

dates around 500,000, giving the Republicans a clear majority over all. The regular Republicans secured a clear majority of the United States Senate and House of Representatives over the combined Democratic, Farmer-Labor and La Follette blocs.

A close study of the result indicated that Davis received within 500,000 of the votes cast for Wilson in 1916, and Cox in 1920, the assumption being justifiable that this difference, plus the normal increase in Democrats who became voters since 1920, went to La Follette. The Third Party movement in 1924 again demonstrated how difficult it is to weaken allegiance to the two major parties. In 1912 Roosevelt as Progressive and Debs as Socialist polled 5,023,031, in a total of 14,000,000 (women did not vote then); this year the total outside the two major parties, with women voting, was less than 5,000,000 in a total of 29,000,000. It was demonstrated also that the compact between the American Federation of Labor and the La Follette and Socialist groups failed to influence the individual voters, except in New York City. There were practically 1,416,325 votes cast, of which La Follette received 286,937; in 1920 the vote was 1,273,957, of which 1,131,030 went to the Democrats and Republicans and 143,000 in round numbers to the Socialists and other parties. In other words the two major parties in 1924 in New York City polled 1,129,388, against 1,130,430 in 1920, a loss of 1,042 votes, whereas the dissentient groups cast 143,000 more votes. In the country at large, however, the result was entirely different; the La Follette vote proved very disappointing in all the industrial centres, and even in Wisconsin, where his personal popularity brought him tens of thousands of supporters irrespective of party, his plurality was under 88,000; he polled approximately 323,000 votes in that State, while the combined Democratic and Republican vote was about 287,000; in 1922 he received for Senator 379,494 votes, showing that 57,000 of his supporters refused to follow him

into a third party, notwithstanding his endorsement by the Socialists, who cast in previous elections around 30,000 votes, and by the other radical groups.

The collapse of the radical Farmer-Labor vote was best illustrated in Iowa. The La Follette ticket had the support of Senator Brookhart, who had previously accepted the regular Republican nomination. In 1922 he had carried the State by a majority of 162,000. After his election he had aligned himself

with the La Follette group in the Senate, but stoutly maintained his allegiance to the Republican Party, and as such was renominated by them. A few weeks before the election he bolted the party, declared himself for La Follette, and fiercely assailed President Coolidge. President Coolidge carried the State, beating La Follette by 252,558 votes and Davis by 354,000, while Brookhart won over his Democratic competitor by a scant 1,000.

OTHER EVENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

WHEN, in the last Congress, an act was passed to the effect that the records of the income tax should be open to the public, nobody appears to have foreseen that a person who secured such information might transmit it to another. Just as soon as the opportunity came reporters appeared at the income tax offices and made lists, and these were published in the daily papers. Commissioner of Internal Revenue Blair ruled (Oct. 25) that under the law the tax offices were required to "open up to inspection the name and post office address of each person making an income tax return, together with the amount of income tax paid by each person." It was then discovered that an older statute, included in Section 3,167 of the Revised Statutes, prohibits the "publication" of any part of the income tax return. Hence, he ruled that the returns could not be published. After several days of confusion and various appeals to courts and to the Attorney General, a set of rules and conditions was drawn up by Secretary Mellon and approved by the President (Oct. 29), including the statement that it is a "misdemeanor for any person to print or publish in any manner whatever not provided by law any income return or any part thereof." A few days later (Nov. 1) this point was practically given up and persons were allowed by Collector Anderson of New York to make written copies of returns. The largest pay-

ment of tax for the year 1923 by any one person or corporation was that of the United States Steel Corporation, being \$15,930,901; next came the Ford Motor Company to the amount of \$14,449,673. Demands have at once been made for the incomes of husbands delinquent in paying their alimony, of ex-bankrupts, and other people who are trying to avoid the payment of just obligations. Thousands of names have already been made public through the newspapers and there seems no possibility of shutting that gate once opened. A test case is to be made in the courts as to future procedure.

President Coolidge is not alone in calling attention to the enormous increase in expense of Governments of the three kinds, national, State and local. The National Industrial Conference Board of New York, a private organization, has made a computation to the effect that in the calendar year, 1923, \$10,045,900,000 was expended for public purposes, which was nearly one-sixth of the incomes of all the peoples in the United States. This requires an average per capita payment of about \$91 from every person within the boundaries of the country. In the last twenty years public expenditures have increased more than threefold. Another distressing fact is that about one-fourth of all these enormous funds is provided by loans which will be a burden on succeeding generations. Of this amount,

about three and a half billions, one-third, is spent by the Federal Government of which a considerable part is the interest on the immense public debt. The bonded debt of all the Governments taken together increases by about a billion a year.

The most interesting incident in the attempt to save money by conservation, was the announcement of Henry Ford (Oct. 13), that he had withdrawn his proposition to take over Muscle Shoals on a hundred-year lease. He withdrew partly because he had been buying coal fields, and thought that he could reach his need of immense power in other ways than by Muscle Shoals water power. As has already been noticed, President Coolidge made a polite but neutral reply to this withdrawal.

The commission to study agricultural conditions and report recommendations was named Nov. 8; it included the Presidents of the chief agricultural and live stock organizations in different sections of the country. Another change has come about in the Cabinet through the death of Secretary of Agriculture Henry C. Wallace (Oct. 25), an original appointee of President Harding.

TRANSPORTATION

In transportation public interest is divided between the appearance of Ezra Meeker and ZR-3, Ezra Meeker, an original Oregon trailer, at the age of 94, arrived in Washington by airship from the Pacific Coast and expressed a gratifying confidence in the President. The ZR-3, the mighty airship built at the Zeppelin works, on Lake Constance, on the order of the German Government, as the sole reparation payment to the United States, set out from Germany (Oct. 12) under command of Dr. Eckener, the director of the Zeppelin works, and reached New York on Oct. 15. It was duly delivered to the United States authorities as a reparation for certain airships destroyed by the Germans after the armistice. The airship Shenandoah, built in the United States about the same time, made a long cruise

as far as the Pacific Coast, returning to Lakehurst Oct. 25. These feats of airships give new point to the controversy regarding a change of balance between naval airplanes and battleships. A group of naval officers believes that the day of the battleship as an active offensive agent has gone by, inasmuch as the possibility of being destroyed by bombs from an airship is much greater than its ability to destroy its winged adversary by aircraft guns. Lieutenant Ofstie (Oct. 25) made a remarkable record of flying a seaplane sixty miles at the rate of 176 miles an hour, and about 400 miles at the rate of 161 miles an hour.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

The relations between the United States and other powers will usually be found described in the sections of this world survey devoted to those powers, and particularly the article entitled "International Events." In a campaign speech (Oct. 23), Secretary of State Hughes made an elaborate statement as to the policy of the Government and particularly as to our relations with the League. He defended the Harding Peace Conference at Washington against criticisms that it gave the United States too low a naval strength. He particularly defended the Administration and his department and the country from the statement that it stood in the way of the League of Nations to the detriment of the United States. He summed up his statement in the following sentence: "Our influence in the cause of peace is constantly exerted and it is none the less effectively exerted because we do not embroil ourselves in European political interests. The influence which we have because of our detachment from those interests would end as soon as that detachment ceased." Mr. Davis in his speeches favored taking a national referendum on the question of joining the League. After the outcome of the campaign that referendum seems to have been taken and decided negatively.

Mexico and Central America

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

Associate Professor of Latin American History, University of Texas

PRONOUNCEMENTS with respect to his prospective policies were made during October by President-elect Plutarco Elias Calles toward the end of a tour of North America and Europe. Speaking in France on Oct. 16 General Calles stated that the evidence of his personal admiration for the people of the United States "may be found in the fact that the chief aim of the new Mexican Administration will be to obtain for Mexicans economic and social conditions such as the people of the United States enjoy." The following day, on the eve of embarking for the United States, General Calles gave assurances that foreign capital invested in Mexico would be given the same guarantees and protection that were accorded under the Constitution to Mexican capital, with the reservation, however, that this was not to be understood as meaning that the Mexican Government would furnish troops to fight strikers. The President-elect further asserted that payments on Mexico's foreign debts would be made as soon as the Mexican Treasury was in a position to resume them.

General Calles arrived in New York City on Oct. 26. In his first interview he expressed his good-will "to the American people, especially the laboring classes, and above all to President Coolidge." He added: "I was elected on a labor ticket in Mexico. My principal task after I become President will be to raise the social conditions of the laboring classes of Mexico to a higher plane." Expressing his belief in a policy of free immigration, General Calles stated that "any one can enter Mexico for business or to work provided he intends to act honestly and conform to the laws of the country." At a dinner in New York City on Oct. 28 General Calles pledged his Administration to improve the lot of 12,000,000 persons, "now on the fringe of civilization," on whose education he

said the progress of Mexico in a large measure depended.

General Calles arrived in Washington on Oct. 31, where he was received as a guest of the nation. After a formal call upon Secretary of State Hughes, General Calles was formally received by President Coolidge and later was the honor guest at an official dinner tendered by Secretary of State Hughes. The following day (Nov. 1) General Calles was the guest of President Coolidge at a luncheon at the White House. Later the visiting Executive was received at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor by President Samuel Gompers, who had previously appointed a special committee of six members from the Federation of Labor to welcome General Calles to Washington.

The Mexican Treasury Department announced on Oct. 15 that an agreement "on the fundamental points in the longstanding controversy between the oil companies and the Government" had been reached. The agreement, before it becomes operative, must be approved by the President of Mexico and by the petroleum companies.

Opposition to the proposed new \$50,000,000 Mexican Government bond issue sponsored by J. L. Arlitt, bond broker of Austin, Texas, and New York City, was voiced early in October by Rafael Zubaran-Capmany, prominent leader in the de la Huerta rebellion of last Winter. Señor Zubaran-Capmany "warned" prospective buyers of the bonds that the oil production tax pledged under the new loan contract was "absolutely fictitious," since it served as the "only income" for the support of the Mexican Government. Statements refuting the charge were made in New York by Mr. Arlitt and by Mexican Consul General Mascarenas, denying that the oil production tax constituted the sole income of the Mexican Government. Mr. Arlitt

presented figures to show that the oil production tax, totaling \$21,000,000 in 1923, was only approximately one-fifth of Mexico's total income of \$104,000,000.

The Mexican Department of Foreign Relations on Oct. 24 ordered the closing of the Mexican Consulates in London, Liverpool and Glasgow, and of all honorary consular offices throughout Great Britain. Minister of Foreign Relations Sáenz said that the order was issued because Mexico believed that it was unworthy "to maintain consular representatives under a Government which does not concede Mexico the honor of maintaining official relations, thus implying that it does not consider Mexico has the moral and legal capacity inherent in sovereign countries." Minister Sáenz asserted that the decision would be effective "while the present abnormal relations with Great Britain continue." To dissipate the alarm caused among both Mexican and British commercial interests because of this rupture, the Mexican Foreign Office on Oct. 26 announced that Mexican customs regulations provided that shipments of merchandise from countries in which Mexico had no consulates were possible when exporters mailed invoices to the customs officials at the port of disembarkation at which duties were collectable.

Opposition to the new Mexican income tax law resulted during October in international complications in addition to continued internal discord. On the basis that the law was illegal because it had been issued by Presidential decree and had not been discussed or approved by Congress, the Chamber of Commerce of Puebla voted to boycott any of its members who paid the tax; later this attitude was adopted by the National Chamber of Commerce. President Obregón on Oct. 17 ordered the deportation within five days of an Arab, a German, two Spanish and three French merchants of Puebla who had obeyed the ruling of the Puebla Chamber of Commerce and had refused to comply with the new tax law. This action

evoked strenuous protests, both from the French and Spanish Ministers, and from numerous leading civic bodies; despite these protests, however, President Obregón, on Oct. 21, sustained the order for the expulsion of the foreign merchants.

A treaty of amity, commerce and navigation, embodying general provisions for intercourse similar to those contained in numerous international agreements in force throughout the world, was concluded Oct. 8 between Mexico and Japan. Under the terms of the treaty no claims are to "be filed for causes arising from insurrections or civil wars, rebels or savage tribes who may be temporarily out of the control of the respective Government"; also, "the contracting parties shall have recourse to diplomatic intervention only in case of denial of justice, failure to execute final sentences of courts of law, or after exhaustion of all legal means available for the settlement of disputes by express violation of the provisions of the treaty."

At the request of Governor Abelardo Rodríguez of Lower California, President Obregón on Oct. 19 ordered the expulsion of one hundred Chinese members of tongs who were causing trouble in Northern Mexico. During recent months feeling against Orientals ran high, and on Oct. 23 Governor Rodríguez announced that he had ordered an investigation of reports that Japanese financiers, in cooperation with an American agent, had planned to place 20,000 Japanese on a tract of 100,000 acres of land near Mexicali, Lower California. Upon authorization of the Mexican Minister of Foreign Relations, Governor Rodríguez announced on Oct. 31 that the Mexican Federal Government was "unalterably opposed" to Japanese and other Oriental colonization schemes in Mexico and to any further admissions of Orientals to any part of the country.

United States Ambassador James R. Sheffield arrived in Mexico City on Oct. 10; five days later he presented his credentials to President Obregón at the National Palace. M. Stanislas Pestkovsky, the new Russian Minister to Mexico, ar-

rived on Nov. 1 and was warmly welcomed by the Radical groups.

Statistical figures issued by the Mexican Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Labor showed that fifteen strikes were declared during April, May and June with consequent losses totalling 3,000,000 pesos. Of the fifteen strikes, seven were won by the strikers, five were won by the companies, and three were settled without gains by either conflicting parties.

Two important actions of Señor Obregón, as retiring President, were his substitution of the Socialist sisal monopoly in Yucatan by a new cooperative society, and his acceptance of an offer by wealthy American business men to establish twenty Mexican scholarships in the United States.

Hippolito Villa, brother of the late notorious Francisco Villa, surrendered with 200 followers to military authorities on Oct. 11. A week later it was reported from Chichuahua City that, according to the terms of the surrender arranged between Villa and General Arnulfo Gómez, commander of the fifth military zone, guarantees of life and property were obtained by Villa and his men, who had returned to their homes on the immense Canutillo hacienda in the State of Durango.

Cuba

PRESIDENT ZAYAS refused on Oct. 15 to receive a Senate committee which, by a Senate resolution, had been instructed to protest to him regarding his alleged unfairness to former President Mario G. Menocal, candidate of the Conservative Party, opposing General Gerardo Machado, candidate of the Liberal Party, for the Presidency. President Zayas denied the allegations made in the Senate resolution and expressed a willingness to receive the members of the Senate committee individually. Charges were filed in the Cuban House of Representatives on Oct. 24 by twenty-five members of the Conservative Party that President Zayas, three members of his Cabinet and the Chief of Staff of the Cuban Army had used their influence

in favor of the Liberals in the Presidential campaign.

The Presidential election was held in Cuba on Nov. 1. Half of the members of the House and Senate also were voted for in the election of Nov. 1. It was announced on Nov. 3 that Machado had polled 185,296 votes as against 126,825 for his opponent. General Menocal on this date issued a statement charging election fraud and announced that his party was planning legal appeals. Government officials denied the charges, asserting that the balloting was honest and legitimate.

A contract was signed by the Cuban Government for the construction of the Maine Monument at Havana; the project was the outcome of years of agitation on the part of Spanish-American War veterans now resident in Cuba.

Plans for the consolidation of the Cuban Dominican Sugar Company and of the Sugar Estates of Oriente had been completed and an issue of \$15,000,000 of bonds had been placed on the market by the National City Company and other investment houses. This consolidation, it was stated, would bring into existence one of the largest producers of raw cane sugar in the world.

The Emergency Committee on Jewish Refugees announced in New York City on Oct. 18 that 5,000 Jews, en route from European countries to the United States and unable to enter the United States because of immigration restrictions, were temporarily accorded a haven in Cuba. The town of Mantua, Cuba, was badly damaged by a tropical storm on Oct. 20; eight persons were killed and fifty injured.

Nicaragua

THE United States Department of State was advised by Chargé d'Affaires Thurston at Managua that on the night of Oct. 14 the returns from the elections held on Oct. 5 totaled more than 68,000 votes. At that time there were still some 130 cantons to be heard from, or approximately 25 per cent. of the total. Of the 68,000 votes tabulated by Oct. 14, General Solorzano, candi-

date of the Conservative-Republican, or Government, Party, had received 37,000 votes; General Emiliano Chamorro, candidate of the Conservative Party, had received 24,000 votes, and Dr. Luis Corea, candidate of the Liberal-Republican Party, had received 6,000 votes.

The sale of the National Bank of Nicaragua to the Nicaraguan Government by the Bank of Central and South America of New York gave rise to apprehension as to the future of the Nicaraguan monetary system; to re-establish confidence, President Bartolomeo Martinez made public a letter written to Clifford B. Ham, Collector General of the Customs bonds of 1918, in which the Executive pledged maintenance of the gold standard.

Costa Rica

PRESIDENT JIMENEZ, in a signed article, Oct. 19, heartily approved and defended the Central American treaties drafted by the Conference on Central American Affairs held in Washington from Dec. 4, 1922, to Feb. 7, 1923. President Jiménez eulogized the United States for its disinterested and friendly aid and expressed the hope that the Opposition Congressmen would favor the treaties.

Panama

PRESIDENT CHIARI early in October recommended to the National Assembly that it amend the Constitution so as to forbid the re-election of Presidents; to bar from the Presidency kinsmen to specified degrees of consanguinity; to bar Vice Presidents exercising powers of the Presidency from succeeding themselves, and to increase the terms of the Justices of the Supreme Court from four to ten years.

In the National Assembly a bill was introduced on Oct. 31 which proposed the elimination from the Panaman Constitution of Article 136, by which the United States was authorized to intervene whenever the peace and constitutional order of Panama was disrupted.

Honduras

THE sanguinary and disastrous revolution which had been waged throughout Honduras since early in August was reported from Tegucigalpa on Oct. 28 to have received its death blow at Chinchayote, where the Ferrera revolutionists were completely routed. Many rebels were killed and the leaders fled across the Nicaraguan frontier.



Publishers' Photo Service

Palace of the Mexican President at Chapultepec, two miles from Mexico City

South America

By HARRY T. COLLINGS

Professor of Economics, University of Pennsylvania.

RECENT happenings showed that the South American republics, after the hundred years of their existence as more or less isolated units, were beginning to realize the value of international cooperation. Having in mind the South American Socialist Congress, to be held in Buenos Aires in 1925, the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party in Argentina decided to send Senator Juan B. Justo to Brazil and Deputy de Tomaso to Chile, each to study labor conditions. Government difficulties in these countries, due to the revolution in Brazil and to the forced retirement of President Alessandri in Chile, kept these emissaries at home, but the three countries continued their efforts to unify programs and to promote the Congress. The amicable settlement of boundary disputes between Paraguay and Bolivia seemed assured by the submission of the question to arbitration, as agreed upon last Summer. Reports regarding a recent advance of Bolivian troops into the Chaco in Northern Paraguay and military engagements between Bolivian and Paraguayan forces were characterized by competent authorities as devoid of foundation.

It was announced that the Court of St. James's would lose two of its most prominent South American diplomats before the first of the year, in the retirement of Augustin Edwards, Chilean Minister, and Domicio da Gama, Ambassador from Brazil, both of whom had handed in their resignations. Minister Edwards was President of the Third Assembly of the League of Nations.

Extended drought seriously affected agricultural production in both Argentina and Chile. It was believed that crops in the neighborhood of Coquimbo, Central Chile, would not reach

more than 25 per cent. of normal production. Thousands of cattle, sheep and goats perished owing to lack of water. The water supply of Santiago, the Chilean capital, had been dangerously depleted. Rainfall during the middle of October had improved prospects in Argentina.

Argentina

LEGISLATIVE discussion of the Workmen's Compensation act, passed some months ago in Argentina, continued actively. Many reforms in the present law had been proposed and a minority favored its suspension until June 30, 1925, unless abrogation were possible. Capitalists and laborers alike seemed united against many of the provisions of the law, on the ground that they created class division and class privilege. Senators opposing the operation of the law pointed out that funds available for the payment of the pensions were compromised to the extent of almost 50 per cent., and asserted that the application of all provisions of the act would within a brief period create a deficit of over \$50,000,000. A strike among longshoremen in the harbor at Buenos Aires on Oct. 1 hampered the loading and unloading of vessels.

The Budget Committee of the Chamber of Deputies voted on Oct. 31 to do away with the post of Argentine Minister to the Vatican. By a vote of seven to six the Argentine Council of Ministers decided on Nov. 4 to discontinue all funds for an envoy to the Holy See. Diplomatic relations with the Vatican had been somewhat strained for months past because of dissatisfaction in Argentina over the appointment by the Vatican of certain local church dignitaries.

Argentina continued her program to increase power supply for industries

and to improve transportation facilities. A bill was submitted to Congress by the Deputies from the Province of Tucumán, providing for a bond issue of \$2,500,000 to be used in the construction of hydro-electric plants and irrigation dams.

Statistics from the Argentine Immigration Department showed that immigration into Argentina was increasing. The total number of registered passengers of all classes entering the country in 1923 was 344,713. Of these 281,575 were foreigners and 63,138 were returning Argentínians. Emigrants to the number of 185,904, of whom 65,157 were natives, left the country during the year.

Brazil

ANOTHER revolutionary movement was begun against President Bernardes and his Government; this time the seditious activity centred in the State of Rio Grande do Sul in the South and in Rio de Janeiro. Federal authorities declared that widespread arrests had been made. The conspiracy had been so fully worked out that even Cabinet posts in the proposed régime had been distributed.

Dispatches from the Argentine-Brazilian frontier showed the revolutionists to be in control of the western part of the State of Rio Grande do Sul at the end of October. The rebel plan was to occupy the State capital at Porto Alegre and take over the State Government, then to cooperate with the Sao Paulo rebels in an effort to separate Southern Brazil from the control of the Federal Government. Insurgents from the Sao Paulo district who had been in the State of Paraná since their coup was stifled last July, moved south to join the Rio Grande do Sul group. A manifesto signed by Juarez Tavora, the rebel Military Governor, and Lucio Megalhaes, the Civil Governor, required civilians to deliver up their arms. It also requisitioned food supplies and vehicles.

An engagement took place near Santa Anna the last of October between 200 armed revolutionists and a much larger

number of State troops from Alegrete. The rebels suffered a reverse and the entire 200 were either killed, wounded or captured. Business was at a standstill in the affected area, and communities in Uruguay, adjacent to the State of Rio Grande do Sul, feared the loss of cattle and crops. A rigid censorship had been established. Deputy Azevedo Lima, in a speech in the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies, accused the Government of persecuting captured rebels and political prisoners. He declared that a shipload of political exiles had been banished to an island off the coast of Rio de Janeiro. One group thus imprisoned consisted of naval officers who had planned to seize the battleship Minas Geraes, fire on the Presidential palace, and capture President Bernardes. The Brazilian Embassy in Buenos Aires on Nov. 4 confirmed a report that the crew of the battleship Sao Paulo had mutinied, seized the vessel and sailed outside of Rio de Janeiro harbor; it was fired upon by the harbor forts. The crew of the destroyer Goyaz also mutinied and steamed out to join the Sao Paulo. The destroyer later surrendered to Government forces. Censorship permitted the press to announce that a mutiny had broken out also at the naval aviation station in Rio de Janeiro harbor. The Brazilian Embassy at Washington, on Nov. 7, minimized these mutinies and asserted that "perfect order" reigned throughout Brazil with the exception of Rio Grande do Sul, where the situation was reported favorable to the Federal forces.

Serious opposition to the present Brazilian Administration had been apparent since last July. Sao Paulo was rapidly repairing the widespread damage done then to both public and private property, but opposition did not end with the quashing of the revolt. Several recent bomb outrages, political in character, occurred. The Government on Sept. 1 suppressed the *Correio da Manhã*, the most influential and popular daily newspaper with the exception of the official *Jornal do Comercio*. The proprietor and editor, Senhor Paulo

Bittencourt, a hostile critic of the Bernardes Administration, had been under arrest since early in July. Neither he nor other journalists who had been arrested had been brought to trial. Commerce had for months been lethargic; there was marked anxiety and hesitancy in trading circles. Shipping had become congested both at Rio de Janeiro and at Santos. The trouble was attributed to inefficient port management and to shortage of freight cars. Originally congestion at Santos was caused by the deviation of cargoes destined for Rio de Janeiro, in order to escape the 2 per cent. gold port tax in force there.

Several changes were made during the past month in Brazil's diplomatic representatives. President Bernardes transferred Ambassador Gurgal do Amaral from Chile to a similar post in Washington. Senhor Abalario Rocas was appointed to fill the ambassadorial position thus left vacant in Santiago.

Peru

PRESIDENT LEGUIA, on Oct. 12, delivered his Presidential message to the newly convened Congress. He stressed the fact that the Government deficit in 1923 was less than \$50,000, as compared with \$5,000,000 the previous year. Señor Leguia pointed out that the political opponents who had burned his palace in 1921 in an attempt to assassinate him were still conspiring for his overthrow, but that the tranquillity of the country was revealed in the recent elections and by the loyalty of the army. The Post Office under the Marconi Administration showed a profit for the first time in its history. British interests were continuing the construction of 4,000 miles of railroad and of extensive irrigation works aiming to bring under cultivation a quarter of a million acres.

The new Peruvian Ministry, which was sworn in Oct. 13 for the Presidential term, was as follows:

ALEJANDRINO MAGUINO—Premier and Minister of Justice.

ALBERTO SALOMON—Foreign Affairs.

JESUS SALAZAR—Interior.

ENRIQUE DE LA PIEDRA—Finance.

ALFREDO PIEDRA—War.

MANUEL MASIAS—Public Works.

FERNIN MALAGA SANTOLALLA—Navy.

Chile

THE Military Government, which assumed control early in September on the forced retirement of President Alessandri, continued to work for reconstruction. On Oct. 18 two new Ministers assumed office in the Military Cabinet—Dr. Alejandro del Rio as Minister of Public Health and Charity, and Señor Arturo Alemparte as Minister of Agriculture. Public interest centred chiefly in the policies of the new Government. Its stability seemed assured, and confidence was being restored throughout the country. Preparations were being made early in November for the election of a new Congress and a revision of the Constitution. Ex-President Alessandri reached Spain on Oct. 17 en route to Paris. He refused to discuss the political situation in Chile. On his arrival in Paris on Nov. 5, however, he issued a statement declaring his belief that "Constitutional Government would be restored in Chile through the spiritual forces of the nation."

Colombia

AS a result of an encounter (Oct. 14) between the police and citizens of Cartago, in Central Colombia, six persons were killed and twenty wounded. The dispute arose over a demonstration urging that the railroad connecting Bogotá with Ibagué, and about to be extended to Buenaventura on the Pacific Coast, should pass through their city. A more direct route would pass through Armenia, some distance to the south of Cartago.

An American engineering firm, 40 per cent. of whose stock was owned by the American International Corporation, was selected to carry out public improvements in Bogotá, authorized by a loan of \$6,000,000, contracted last October. Only \$3,750,000 of the funds available were to be expended in improvements; the remaining \$2,250,000

were to be used to refund outstanding bonds.

Venezuela

THE Venezuelan budget for the year 1924-25 showed estimated expenses amounting to 63,354,500 bolívars (the bolívar approximates 20 cents). More than one quarter of this amount was allotted to the Ministry of Finance and Public Credit; the next largest sum, amounting to more than a fifth of the total, was assigned to the Ministries of War and Navy. The budget as outlined for 1924-25 represented but a small increase over that of the previous year. Estimated receipts for the new budget exceeds expenditures by 3,000,000 bolívars.

The Venezuelan Legation at Washington confirmed a report that Venezuelan bonds were recently sold in Porto Rico at \$5 each, to "aid the exiled revolutionists, redeemable when the revolution triumphs." Some of these bonds were said to have been sold as low as \$1.

Paraguay

DR. EUSEBIO AYALA, former Provisional President of Paraguay, was appointed Minister from Paraguay to the United States, Mexico and Cuba. Estimates published by the Banco Agrícola in Asunción indicated a cotton acreage of 100,000 acres during the season of 1924-25. This was an increase of 200 per cent. over 1923-24.

The British Empire

By RALSTON HAYDEN

Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan.

Great Britain

AFTER the most exciting campaign which Great Britain has experienced since the "khaki election" of 1900 the British electorate, on Oct. 29, returned the Conservative Party to power with an overwhelming majority over all other groups in the House of Commons. The voters returned to Westminster 412 Conservatives, 152 Laborites, 40 Liberals, 7 Constitutionalists and 4 Independents. The victorious party gained 154 seats, while Labor, the Liberals and the Independents lost, respectively, 41 seats, 118 seats and 1 seat. The Conservative majority in the new House is 223 seats. Out of some 20,000,000 electors, more than 16,000,000 went to the polls, and of these 8,000,000 voted Conservative, 5,500,000 Labor, and 3,000,000 Liberal. Thus the election once more demonstrated that under the British electoral system a minority vote in the country

can be turned into a large majority in the House of Commons. The non-proportionality of the results is emphasized by the fact that the Conservatives obtained a seat for every 20,000 votes cast, Labor one for every 36,000 and the Liberals one for every 76,000; and while the followers of Ramsay MacDonald lost 41 seats, they polled 1,000,000 more votes than in the election of December, 1923. The representative character of the polling is made evident by the size of the vote, for while only about three-quarters of a million new names had been added to the register during the year, 2,000,000 more votes were cast than in the last election. It was the turn of the luck in the three-cornered election contests that gave 412 seats for 8,000,000 Conservative votes and only 192 seats for the 8,500,000 ballots cast by Laborites and Liberals combined.

The immediate effect of the election was the resignation of the Labor Gov-

ernment and the resumption of office by the Conservatives under the Premiership of Stanley Baldwin. The crushing defeat of the Liberals and the failure of many of their most prominent leaders, including former Prime Minister Asquith, to secure re-election, has been interpreted by many Englishmen as presaging the disappearance of the party of Gladstone, Campbell-Bannerman, Asquith and Lloyd George. During the campaign Mr. MacDonald proclaimed that Labor possessed the enthusiasm, the vigor and the idealism of the Liberals of the previous generation; between conservatism and radicalism expressed in the Socialist formula there was scant room for a middle-of-the-road party today; the laissez-faire doctrines of the Manchester school had ceased to bear any intimate relation to political realities; there was room for only two parties in the British system.

Whatever this débâcle might portend for the future of Liberalism, there was no question about the British people having for the present emphatically declined to accept Socialism, as applied by the Labor Party, as a solution of the grave problems with which England has been struggling since 1918. Yet it was all too easy to overestimate the significance of the defeat of the MacDonald Government. It should not be forgotten: (1) That the election was held during a period of anti-Bolshevist feeling, which has not been equaled since the year following the armistice, and that the suppressed Campbell prosecution, the activities of the English Communists, the Moscow spying upon the British mission at the Soviet capital, the attacks upon the proposed Soviet treaty, and the publication of the Zinoviev letter influenced many Britons to vote against the Labor Party, not because they feared it, but because they feared Russian Bolshevism; (2) that despite this handicap Labor polled more than a third of the total vote; (3) that during its tenure of office Labor gained invaluable experience in government and made a record which will help,

rather than hinder it in its next electoral battle.

The most sensational episode of the campaign was that of the "Zinoviev letter." On Oct. 24, five days before the polling, there was published by the Government, and simultaneously by a Conservative newspaper, a letter addressed to the Central Committee of the British Communist Party and bearing the signature of Zinoviev, President, and other officials of the Executive Committee of the Third International. The letter directed the British Communists to prepare the way for the proletarian revolution in England by inciting the people to sedition and violence, the subversion of the army and navy, the formation of the nucleus of a Red Army, and general preparations for crippling the nation in war and thus giving the "proletariat an opportunity to turn an imperialist war into a class war." The Labor Government also published a sharp note which it had directed to the Russian Soviet Government, holding the latter responsible for the act of the Third International and calling it to account for the alleged violation of its solemn agreement not to conduct revolutionary propaganda in England. The Soviet Council of Commissars indignantly repudiated the "Zinoviev letter" as "an impudent forgery," reiterated its repeated declarations of non-responsibility for the acts of the Communist International, demanded a British apology for accusing the Soviet Government of subversive activities, and proposed the creation of an arbitral commission to pass upon the genuineness of the document. Prime Minister MacDonald expressed his belief that the letter was authentic, but admitted that mysterious circumstances surrounded its origin and its leakage to the Conservative press. The immediate effect of the incident was to inject additional excitement and bitterness into the closing days of the campaign. After the election was over, the Government, before resigning, appointed a committee to make a complete investigation of the entire incident, but this body was forced to report that it was impossible to

"come to a positive conclusion on the subject."

The resignations of Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald and his colleagues were on Nov. 4 tendered to King George, who at once entrusted Mr. Stanley Baldwin, leader of the Conservative Party, with the formation of a new Government. On Nov. 6 Mr. Baldwin announced the personnel of his Cabinet, which, with subsequent appointments, was constituted as follows:

STANLEY BALDWIN—Prime Minister, First Lord of the Treasury and Leader of the House of Commons.

THE MARQUIS CURZON OF KEDLESTON—Lord President of the Council and Leader of the House of Lords.

THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY—Lord Privy Seal.

THE VISCOUNT CAVE—Lord Chancellor.

WINSTON SPENCER CHURCHILL—Chancellor of the Exchequer.

SIR WILLIAM JOYNSON-HICKS—Secretary of State for Home Affairs.

AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN—Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Deputy Leader of the House of Commons.

Lieut. Col. L. C. M. S. AMERY—Secretary of State for the Colonies.

SIR LAMING WORTHINGTON-EVANS—Secretary of State for War.

THE EARL OF BIRKENHEAD—Secretary of State for India.

WILLIAM CLIVE BRIDGEMAN—First Lord of the Admiralty.

SIR PHILIP LLOYD GRAEME—President of the Board of Trade.

NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN—Minister of Health.

SIR FREDERICK LINDLEY WOOD—Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries.

SIR JOHN GILMOUR—Secretary for Scotland.

LORD EUSTACE PERCY—President of the Board of Education.

SIR ARTHUR STEEL-MAITLAND—Minister of Labor.

SIR DOUGLAS M. HOGG—Attorney General.

VISCOUNT CECIL—Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

LORD PEEL—First Commissioner of Works.

The most striking appointment was that of Winston Spencer Churchill as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Born, bred and sent to Parliament as a Conservative, Mr. Churchill some twenty years ago went over to the Liberal Party, and subsequently held various portfolios in the Asquith Cabinets.

Shortly before the last election he rejoined the Conservative ranks with the purpose of leading the fight against socialism, and during the campaign was one of the most extreme and outspoken opponents of the Labor Party and all that it stands for. On this account and because he is a pronounced free-trader, his inclusion in the Baldwin Cabinet in the key position of Chancellor of the Exchequer was regarded as a significant gesture.

Speaking at the Lord Mayor's banquet in the Guildhall, London, on Nov. 10, Mr. Baldwin credited much of the success of the London Interallied Conference to Ramsay MacDonald, adding:

This very satisfactory result, which encourages such good hopes for the future, would not have been attained but for the statesmanlike attitude of the French Government. M. Herriot has earned the gratitude of Europe for his moderation and he may rest assured that His Majesty's Government will continue to furnish him with the most friendly and consistent support in the execution of the policy which he himself has so largely facilitated.

Unemployment continued to increase, the total number of persons on the registers on Oct. 6 being 1,215,000, as compared with 1,009,500 at the end of last June. Seasonal unemployment accounted for a part of the increase, and the total still remained smaller than at the beginning of the year. Unfortunately, living costs increased along with unemployment, the official figures for the beginning of October showing an average level of 76 per cent. above July, 1914, against 72 per cent. a month earlier, and 75 per cent. a year ago. The average was 79 last February and 69 in June, which was the lowest since the early days of the war.

Canada

AFTER one of the fiercest battles in the history of Canadian temperance the electors of Ontario upheld prohibition in that Province in the plebiscite of Oct. 23. The majority for the continuance of the "O. T. A." (Ontario Temperance act, 1916), however, was a

scant 50,000 out of a total of more than 1,000,000 votes, as compared with the 400,000 majority which prevented the repeal of the act in 1919; and the returns showed that the cities voted overwhelmingly in favor of the sale of liquor under Government control.

Exports from Canada to Germany increased from \$5,735,268 in the twelve months ended Aug. 31, 1922, to \$11,557,950 in the succeeding twelve months, and to \$17,765,519 in the year which ended Aug. 31, 1924. Imports from Germany likewise rose from \$1,933,030 to \$3,928,991 and \$5,986,732 during the corresponding periods.

The Canadian Government canceled the agreement which it entered into with the Jewish Colonization Association to admit 5,000 Jewish refugees stranded in Rumania and facing expulsion from that country. After 3,000 of the immigrants had entered the country question arose as to certain irregularities in the selection and transportation of the refugees and as to the likelihood of their becoming public charges in Canada.

Ireland

DESPITE the passage of the boundary commission bill by the Irish Free State Legislature and the appointment of the Ulster member of the commission, little progress has been made toward settling the differences between Northern Ireland and the Free State. Sir James Craig, Premier of Ulster, and those who support him, reiterated their declaration that the treaty never contemplated anything but minor corrections of the boundary line, and have proclaimed that Ulster would not submit to "legalized disruption." President Cosgrave and the Free State Government, on the other hand, apparently depended upon the commission to award to them substantial sections of Ulster territory in which the population was predominantly Catholic. Finally, Eamon de Valera and a growing body of Republicans were determined to accept no settlement that did not create a united Ireland, completely separated from

Great Britain and organized under a republican government.

On Oct. 29 the general position of President Cosgrave was materially weakened by the bolt of John McGrath, former Minister of Commerce and leader of the Republican Constitutional Party in the Dail Eireann. Mr. McGrath resigned his seat in the Free State Parliament, and his action tended to strengthen those Republicans who still sought the complete overthrow of the Free State and a proclamation of a republic.

The thirteen seats of Northern Ireland in the British House of Commons were all captured by the Conservatives. The chief opposition came from the Republicans, who nominated candidates in a number of constituencies. While campaigning in County Down for one of these candidates Eamon de Valera was arrested and sent across the boundary to the Free State with a warning not to return. Mr. de Valera, who was elected to represent the district in the Northern Parliament, but, of course, has never recognized that body by taking his seat in it, declared his intention of returning to address his constituents. Upon his doing so he was re-arrested and sentenced to one month's imprisonment. Although he declared the proceedings to be a farce and refused to recognize the court because it is "the creature of a foreign power," he was committed to a Belfast jail for the period of his sentence.

India

DESPITE the resolutions of the Hindu-Moslem Unity Conference which met in consequence of Mahatma Gandhi's fast for the purpose of reconciling the adherents of these two religions, the past month witnessed the usual series of bloody religious riots. The two most serious outbreaks occurred on "Unity Day" at Allahabad and Kankanarah, in Bengal, and resulted in a number of deaths and many serious casualties on both sides.

On Oct. 25 the Earl of Reading, Vice-

roy of India, promulgated an ordinance supplementing the ordinary criminal law of Bengal in order to empower the Government of the Presidency to deal with an anarchical movement which, it was stated, had been found to be deep-seated and dangerous. The Viceroy declared that this exercise of his emergency powers had been made necessary by clear evidence that preparations and plans for criminal outrages were dangerously developed. The promulgation of the new ordinance was soon followed by the arrest of twenty-four close associates of C. R. Das, the Swaraj (Home Rule) leader, upon suspicion of connection with preparations for criminal violence.

From the Punjab came the more cheering news that the leaders of the Akali movement (an attempt by one group of Sikhs to obtain control of the Sikh shrines, by force or otherwise) had resorted to the courts to obtain their ends. This meant that resistance to the courts and defiance of the Government was being abandoned.

An important development of Indian railroad transportation occurred last month when legislation was enacted providing for Government management of the East India and Great Indian Peninsular Railways and a separation of railway finances from the general budget of the State.

Australia and New Zealand

THE League of Nations Protocol for the outlawing of war aroused a great deal of adverse criticism in both Australia and New Zealand because of its proposal to submit to the Permanent Court of International Justice the question as to whether any matter of international dispute was, in international law, exclusively a matter of domestic jurisdiction. Referring to the immigration question, ex-Premier W. M. Hughes of Australia declared that "the idea that Australia should consent to permit a court of which she knows nothing to adjudicate in a matter of life and death cannot be entertained for a

moment. We have a certainty of security now (under the League of Nations) as far as it can be assured. We are asked to exchange this for the uncertainty, at the best, of the action of an unknown court. We must reject the protocol." Premier Massey of New Zealand stated the position of that Dominion on immigration as follows: "We are not going to arbitrate. We simply say they cannot come here unless we give permission—League of Nations or no League of Nations. That is the law of our country and we will stand by it."

The miners of New Zealand have formed a single union which includes all workers in or about coal mines. The new organization is to be known as the United Mine Workers of New Zealand. The Government and many private employers in New Zealand have been seeking to induce the New Zealand Alliance of Labor to agree to a 48-hour working week throughout the Dominion. Seventy-nine per cent. of the workers are now on a 44-hour week basis, and far from assenting to an increase in working hours, the unions are threatening industrial trouble unless the 44-hour week is made universal.

South Africa

THE Nationalist-Labor Government of General Hertzog was under fire from the opposition press and speakers on account of its alleged policy of discrimination against native Africans. The course of the Minister of Railways in dismissing native labor on the railways and substituting white, and the embargo enforced by the Agricultural Department against the importation of cattle owned by natives of Bechuanaland and Rhodesia, were most strongly condemned.

The gold output in the Transvaal has averaged 40,000 ounces per month more this year than during the same period in 1923, and in July last the production, 829,437 ounces, was the largest in the history of the district. The opening up of new mines and increased production efficiency explained the record.

France and Belgium

By WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS

Professor of History, University of Minnesota

THE French Government on Oct. 28 sent out the long expected announcement of its recognition of the Soviet Government of Russia. Premier Herriot signed the short message to M. Tchitcherin in Moscow after a final consultation with Senator de Monzie and the other members of the special commission which had been studying the Russian situation for the past weeks.

The letter of recognition addressed to Moscow was a carefully worded document "expressly reserving the rights of French citizens acquired under obligations contracted by Russia or its dependents under former régimes, obligations which are guaranteed by the general principles of law, which are for us the rule of international law." The Soviet Government was therefore invited to send delegates to Paris "for opening negotiations of a general order and more particularly of an economic order." Until the end of these negotiations, France would consider all the old treaties and conventions with Russia in force. Finally, said the French note, "It must be understood that once for all non-intervention in internal affairs shall rule in the relations between the two countries."

The Soviet rulers immediately replied in terms of studied cordiality, cheerfully assenting to the suggestion that "mutual non-intervention in internal affairs is an indispensable condition to relations with all States in general and with France in particular" and promising at once to open negotiations for "a friendly solution of the problems interesting the two States."

M. Herriot's motives in thus recognizing the Soviets (an action predicted since he assumed the Premiership early in the Summer of 1924) were variously

interpreted, as parliamentary strategy to gain radical support, a bid for Russian grain and a scheme to secure a settlement of the Russian debt to France. The last reason was accepted as predominant. It was contended that the French holders of Russian securities were more likely to realize on their holdings "with a French Ambassador at Moscow than without one" and that seven years of non-recognition had produced no results in this direction.

The recognition evoked strong reactions both in France and abroad. It was admitted in many French quarters that the British experience in dealing with the Soviets, culminating in the note from Zinoviev, had not been happy. The London Times categorically declared that the friends of France would regret her action and that: "The Soviet Embassy in Paris will inevitably become the center of unhappy disturbance in French political life." The large Russian refugee colony in Paris was stirred to indignation by the recognition of the Soviets. M. Herriot issued a formal statement, however, declaring that the exiles would undergo no surcease of French protection and hospitality and that no agreement would be entered into with the Soviets changing the status of these unfortunate people for the worse.

The threat of conflict between the French Government and the Vatican was allayed in the month under review. The clerical elements showed no anxiety to begin a struggle over the question of dropping the French Embassy to the Holy See. The Finance Committee of the Chamber of Deputies on Oct. 22 voted to suppress the appropriation of the Embassy, thereby sustaining the Government's program. In general, however, the position of M. Herriot, after the fall of the Labor Government

in England, was believed to be growing weaker.

The news was flashed around the world on Oct. 13 that Anatole France, probably the most distinguished of all French literary personages, had died at the age of 80 after lying at death's door for many days. France, or to use his original name, Jacques Anatole Thibault, received at his funeral practically every secular honor in the power of his countrymen to bestow. President Doumergue, Premier Herriot and many other high official personages were among the continuous line of people who filed by his casket as it lay in his apartment in the Villa Saïd. The room was piled high with innumerable floral tributes, offerings ranging from humble bunches of violets sent by working men and women to a magnificent wreath sent by Gabriel d'Annunzio.

The obsequies were impressively celebrated at Paris on Oct. 18. The body lay upon a raised catafalque on the Quai Malaquais before the French Institute under the statue of Voltaire, where 10,000 people were gathered and heard six orators through loud speakers eulogize "the subtlest mind and the most brilliant pen modern France has produced." The great mourning procession escorting the casket from Paris to the cemetery at Neuilly—a distance of five miles—was witnessed by dense crowds which had waited for hours. President Doumergue and all the members of the Government attended, as well as representatives of almost every class and type of French society. As was inevitable in view of the wishes of the author and his well-known anti-religious beliefs, no religious service of any kind took place during the ceremonies.

An announcement of historic interest stated that a large collection of letters written by the Marquis de Lafayette from America had been discovered in Paris. Thirteen letters which he wrote to his cousin, Vicomte de Noailles, shed a curious light upon many military happenings in the latter part of the American Revolutionary War, while Lafayette

held a high command in Washington's army, and were especially valuable for the year 1782. Other letters set forth the tangled condition of American finances under the old Confederation of the 1780s. The collection also contained letters written by distinguished Americans, as, for instance, one written by Alexander Hamilton to Lafayette after the latter had been driven from France during the French Revolution and was in exile near Hamburg.

Marshal Foch officiated upon Oct. 27 at the dedication of a home for the war blind at Paris. Lighthouse No. 3 was founded largely through the generosity of American women, especially of Mrs. Winifred Holt Mather. It is a duplicate of Lighthouses No. 1 and No. 2 at New York and Buffalo, where blinded men can receive specially adapted instruction in the arts and trades. At the close of the ceremony a handsome cup was presented to Mrs. Mather by Commander Sallaren, representing the hundreds of blind soldiers whose lives have been brightened by her efforts.

It was announced that former President Millerand had acquired the control of the Paris morning paper, *Avenir*. M. Millerand is undoubtedly one of the strongest personal forces opposed to the present Herriot Ministry.

The French Academy on Oct. 21 awarded its famous "big family" prize of 25,000 francs to Devouste Dubreuil, who had been blessed with ten children, including quadruplets—two boys and two girls—born during the war. That such encouragement to large households was not unneeded was shown by the recently published birth statistics for the first six months of 1924. They were only 575,636, as against 544,287 deaths, making an increase in population of only 31,349. The corresponding increase for a like period in 1923 was 81,179, indicating that the problem of the low birth rate was one for which the Republic had still found no effective solution.

It was officially announced that M. Jusserand, for twenty-one years Ambassador of France to the United States,

was to be recalled. It was stated that he had given great satisfaction by his public service, but that it was impossible for the present Ministry to make the diplomatic changes it considered needful at London, Rome and Madrid without affecting Washington also. In Government circles it was stated that it was desired to send to Washington an envoy who would not be merely a skilled diplomat, but also an expert in finance, equipped to handle all the fiscal questions sure to arise with America. M. Emile Daeschner, selected as M. Jusserand's successor, is a man of wide diplomatic experience and very high reputation. He served a long apprenticeship in the French foreign service at Madrid, Lisbon and Bucharest and as the Director of Administrative and Technical Affairs at the Foreign Office. M. Daeschner is 61 years old. He comes of an old Alsatian family, speaks English with remarkable fluency and, like the present President of the Republic, is by faith a Protestant.

Belgium

THE great miners' strike centring around Borinage, which had involved 35,000 men, came to an end officially on Oct. 11, but it was reported that, thanks to Communist agitators, allegedly financed by Moscow, only less than half of the men actually went back to work.

Soviet delegates arrived in Belgium lately with the object of encouraging industrialists who had interests in Russia before the war to resume their activities. Such Belgian manufacturers were promised freedom from exploitation and the

minimum of taxes on accrued profits. It was even promised that the Soviet Government would provide a sufficient labor supply. These efforts were declared to be largely unsuccessful. The Belgian authorities issued a warning that any agreements entered into with the Soviets would be at the individual's own risk.

The City of Havre, France, on Oct. 10 sent a special delegation to Brussels to bestow upon King Albert a sword of honor in recognition of his valiant and heroic services during the World War. The presentation was made with appropriate ceremonies at the Royal Palace, the French delegates reminding the King that the sword was engraved with "the palm of the martyr and the laurels of the conqueror" and with the sentiment, "Force in the service of Right." The King, in accepting the gift, declared that he did so because he considered it "less a personal tribute than a witness to the admiration for the bravery and tenacity of the Belgian soldiers and the whole Belgian people."

Of interest to many Americans was the announcement that the Commission for Relief in the Belgium Educational Foundation (New York) controlled six annual fellowships in advanced cultural or scientific studies for citizens of the United States who had a thorough knowledge of French and who desired to attend Belgian universities. Each fellowship carried a stipend of 15,000 francs and traveling expenses to and from this country. Only persons who had done distinctly advanced work in American colleges or universities were to be considered eligible.

Germany and Austria

By WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD

Professor of History, Columbia University

THE Reichstag was dissolved on Oct. 20 and the date of new elections set for Dec. 7. Negotiations between the Chancellor and the parties not represented in the present Cabinet, with regard to the formation of a Ministry on a wider Parliamentary basis, proved fruitless. The Chancellor's request for a written statement from the Nationalists as to whether they would be content with three seats, no one of which should be held by any of their members who had voted against acceptance of the London agreement, elicited nothing more explicit than oral assurances already given. Since the Chancellor's own party, the Centrists, and the Democrats as well, objected to the admittance of Nationalists into the Government unless Socialists were also included, and since the People's Party, captained by Dr. Stresemann, the Foreign Minister, declared that, unless the Nationalists were given places without such a stipulation, the party would withdraw its support altogether, no choice other than dissolution was left.

Verbal battles, meanwhile, were waged among monarchists, republicans and Socialists, though physical encounters were few. The monarchists vaunted the black-white-red banner of Imperial Germany and the significance of the old régime. The republicans were no less fervent in exalting the black-gold-red flag of today, with its meaning for the Fatherland of the future. Believing that through their aid in the adoption of the London agreement they had strengthened materially their hold on domestic politics, the Socialists made plain their determination to defend the interests of the working class against a bourgeois combination in the Cabinet which might be created as a reward for the half-hearted assent to the adoption of the London agreement

by Nationalists who tacitly or avowedly were monarchists.

Very different were the attitude and behavior of the Communists. Directly incited from Moscow in their agitation for the overthrow of the "bourgeois capitalist republic," they organized a series of conferences in the Ruhr Valley, the Rhineland and elsewhere, deliberately intended to provoke an armed uprising of the proletariat. To cope with the menace, the German Government did not content itself with protests to Russia, but, soon after the dissolution of the Reichstag, issued warrants for the arrest of every Communist member of that body who had not gone into hiding or fled the country. In Berlin the police unearthed a huge store of false passports, along with apparatus for printing them and the requisite visas.

As the electoral campaign proceeded, the ultra-monarchical wing of the Nationalists issued a manifesto, proclaiming that their aim was to "purify political life of the November spirit (meaning the revolution of November, 1918), which broke its word and oath (viz., allegiance to the ex-Kaiser, establishment of the republic and the conclusion of peace), and of a disposition to fulfillment which grovels in abject pacifism before foreign countries." As a result of this outburst, Dr. Oskar Hergt, leader of the party, was forced out and the organization was split into factions. By way of easing the situation somewhat, the former German Crown Prince and Bavarian Crown Prince had an interview, designed to effect a reconciliation between the Hohenzollerns and the Wittelsbachs, which might help the Nationalist cause. Eventually at least fourteen parties of divers shades of political opinion entered the lists: but the real line of cleavage throughout lay between

the advocates and the opponents of maintenance of the republic and the policy of fulfilling treaty obligations.

With reference to the proposed entrance of Germany into the League of Nations, the Foreign Minister, addressing a group of his constituents at Frankfurt-on-the-Main, Oct. 19, claimed for the Reich the same exceptional position as that accorded to Switzerland. Otherwise, so long as Germany was the only unarmed nation amidst armed neighbors, it could not participate in wars or blockades which the League, as an international body, might sanction.

From late September onward through October the London agreement was carried out in faithful accordance with the program approved by the Reparation Commission. The laws required under the terms of the Dawes report went into effect. Ownership of the national railways was transferred to the German Railway Company (*Reichseisenbahngesellschaft*), having on its Board of Management fourteen German and four foreign members. Herr Oeser, Minister of Communications, was elected to the post of Director General. This corporation is the largest enterprise of its kind in the world. It employs 750,000 men, operates 33,000 miles of track, possesses a nominal capital of \$6,500,000.000 and has an annual revenue of \$1,000,000.000. Payments due on reparations were met and the loan treaty was signed. The Reparation Commission formally announced on Oct. 21 that, since the Allies had withdrawn their economic missions from the Ruhr Valley and were hastening the process of military evacuation, all outside interference of the sort in this industrial region had ceased. About the same time the German authorities took over the administration of the customs, post offices and domains in the Rhineland.

Reflecting the great reform that German finance and currency had undergone in compliance with the new banking law of Aug. 30, the statement issued by the Reichsbank on Oct. 24 was expressed in gold marks. The gold reserve was given as 630,502,000 gold

marks, of which 177,703,000 were deposited abroad.

Much opposition was voiced by the Foreign Trade Association against the high tariff schedules and freight rates now prevailing. This organization called for reciprocity and commercial agreements instead, together with most-favored nation treatment in general. Active efforts were on foot to promote German trade in Central and Eastern Europe. Agencies for the purpose were new Chambers of Commerce and the publication of technical works in various languages. Reversing the situation in August, imports in September were greater than exports. The shift came as the result of an increased demand for foodstuffs and raw materials, the former because of a shortage in the crops, especially in rye. Among the negotiations under way for commercial treaties, only those with Spain were brought to a successful conclusion.

The Union of Factory Workers early in October petitioned the Government to replace the present Federal Economic Council, which is provisional in character, by a permanent body, and until that had been done, to restore to it the powers of which it had been deprived during the period of the inflation of the mark. Motive for the action was found in the report of an inquiry revealing a steady encroachment upon the eight-hour day. Among nearly 500,000 workingmen whose cases were studied, 46 per cent. had to labor in excess of that limit. Wages continued below the pre-war rate in the face of a rising cost of living. A slight decline in unemployment, however, was noticeable.

Better economic prospects served to reduce the number of emigrants from Germany to 12,000 during the second quarter of the present year, as compared with 27,000 in the same period of 1923. Persons were under arrest charged with having forged, for the benefit of citizens of Eastern European countries, documents representing them to be Germans entitled to enter the United States as farm superintendents or near rela-

tives of individuals already resident there.

German medical research, it was announced, had succeeded in isolating a bacillus that, injected into rats, helped to produce cancer. Experimentation with animals appeared to denote the possibility of a serum diagnosis. It had been discovered, also, that as an anesthetic, ordinary acetylene may be employed to greater advantage than chloroform or ether.

Improvement in intellectual relations between the Reich and its western neighbors was visible. French and Belgian plays, banned since the occupation of the Ruhr Valley, were recently readmitted to the German stage.

Austria

THE Minister of Finance, on Oct. 22, submitted the budget for 1925. It showed a deficit of \$7,000,000, due to heavy administrative expenditure and lowered taxation. The proposed outlay for Government employes was the item that evoked the most criticism. In November the process of repaying the loan from the League of Nations was begun through purchase in the open market.

Late in October the question as to the value of the pre-war crown brought on a demonstration in Vienna. Thousands of persons owning small amounts of such money protested that they would not accept a judicial decision which made the paper crown equivalent to the gold crown in the settlement of debts, war loans and savings bank transactions.

Despite fears to the contrary, the sensational failure of the Vienna banker Camillo Castiglioni did not have any noticeably adverse effect upon finance or industry. Adjustment with his creditors was reached through an assumption by foreign groups of many of his holdings. Full payment of all savings accounts was assured to depositors in the "Depositenbank." Certain newspapers,

also, which belonged to Castiglioni were sold to a Hungarian syndicate

High discount rates of 30 per cent. in the market and 15 per cent. at the National Bank were held responsible in part for a lack of capital, which conduced to slackness of trade and an increase in unemployment.

With the exception of rents, which in most cases are fixed by law, the cost of living rose appreciably during the past six months. The crops of rye and barley were below those of last year. In all cereals the yield represented about one-half of the amount required. The policy of the Hungarian Government in diminishing exports of wheat also affected the supply of grain for Austria and caused an increase in its price.

So low are the salaries of teachers in the elementary schools that on Oct. 22 they went out on strike. Both in educational circles and in the lower house of the National Legislature much excitement was aroused by a speech of Chancellor Seipel, advocating a change in the existing law which would compel children registered by their parents as Roman Catholic to attend the parochial schools of that faith and thus comply with the regulations of the canon law.

A huge mass meeting called by the women of Vienna protested against the still existing law of obligatory motherhood, demanding that they be allowed to practice birth control. The statute, declared one of the speakers, was deliberately framed so as to furnish the former dynasty with soldiers for its wars and predatory campaigns.

A convention between Austria and Switzerland, signed at Vienna on Oct. 13, provided for the election of a permanent Board of Conciliation. To this board disputes not susceptible of adjustment by diplomacy are to be submitted in cases lying outside the competence of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague.

Italy

By LILY ROSS TAYLOR

Associate Professor of Latin, Vassar College.

THE attitude of the Liberals toward the Government was the chief subject of political interest in Italy during the past month. In the elections last Spring the Liberals came into Parliament as a flanking party disposed to support Fascism, but after the Matteotti murder, and especially after the application of the censorship of the press, they became inclined to withdraw their support. The following was part of a statement of principles adopted by the Liberal Congress at Leghorn on Oct. 6:

(1) That the State should be removed from the dominion of parties and groups and restored to its own function as the supreme regulating power of national life under whose command political struggles should be carried out in peace.

(2) That the constitutional régime confirmed by the Charter of Albert, which brought Italy to her greatness, should not lose its character and that the distribution of powers should be rigorously maintained.

(3) That the sole legitimate basis of Government is the will of the people made manifest by constitutional forms.

(4) That the national army is the exclusive source of protection of the State and that no armed force can have the spirit and character of a party; that the liberties sanctioned by the Constitution and the discipline of the laws provided for in it should be restored and respected.

(5) That the local governments should be restored to the administrations legally elected by the citizens.

(6) That economic policies, with the aim of defending individual initiative should respect principles of liberty even in the face of class organization.

The resolution, offered by a committee that attempted to conciliate the two extremes in the meeting, was carried by a vote of 23,714 against 5,490. Like the resolution of the war veterans passed in August, this declaration was, however, on the whole, regarded as a victory for the anti-Fascist elements in the Con-

gress. But there was no demand that the two Liberal Ministers in the Mussolini Cabinet resign, and when it was announced that they would not do so, the Liberal press did not condemn their course. Mussolini's own attitude toward the resolution was expressed in an interview with The New York Times correspondent on Oct. 12, when he said:

The resolutions of the Leghorn Liberal Congress which clearly reveal the anti-Fascist sentiment which animates about two-thirds of the Liberals, leave me quite cold and unaffected. I have just returned from a tour of Northern Italy, where I have come into contact with the naked soul of the Italian people, of the true Italian people, of the humble Italian people who work and sweat and slave in silence for their country. With all due modesty I must confess that I have no word to express how moved I am by the truly wonderful reception they accorded me. Why, then, should I worry about a bare score thousand of those whom I have already described as "melancholy zealots of super-constitutionalism"? Why should I worry about the decisions of a party which in the whole of Italy hardly counts as many supporters as I have in certain single cities?

The fierce criticism of Fascism at the Liberal congress had provoked so much feeling that a break in the party became inevitable. The right wing of the Liberals under former Premier Salandra, who had recently represented Italy at the League of Nations, withdrew from the Liberal Party and formed a new group, which issued a resolution declaring its confidence that the Government

through the advantages of the prestige of Italy in foreign lands, through economic and financial reconstruction, through the patriotic fervor of the people, will have the will and the power to bring about a complete and lasting peace in internal affairs with the repression of all violence, the rigorous subjection of all powers to the laws, and the restoration of the local Governments to normal life.

The right wing of the Liberals holds that

it is in the interests of the country to continue in their loyal adherence to the National Government, in which illustrious exponents of liberal ideas have a part, and to form in Parliament a National Liberal group whose activities shall be directed to these ends.

The Liberal forces thus became divided and another group was formed. Meantime the war veterans and the war invalids, two groups which had been prominent in former Fascist ceremonies, made known their intention of refraining from all connection with the celebration of the second anniversary of the march on Rome which took place on Oct. 28. Commenting on the announcement, the *Giornale d'Italia* remarked that the attention of the country was thus simply called to "the fact, now accomplished and undeniable, that Fascism has been transformed from a great national movement into a political party."

The anniversary of the march on Rome was celebrated on Oct. 28 throughout Italy and especially in Milan and Rome, where the Fascist militia took the oath of allegiance to the King. The fact that the oath was taken on the Fascist anniversary was regarded by the Opposition as an indication that the character of the militia had not changed. Mussolini was present at the celebration in Milan. On Nov. 3 and 4 the anniversary of the Italian victory in the World War was celebrated. It was made the occasion of more than usual solemnity and ceremony. The title of Marshal of the Italian Army was conferred on General Cadorno, who after the defeat of Caporetto was displaced from the command of the army, but was subsequently exonerated, and on General Diaz who succeeded him and was for a time Mussolini's Minister of War. At the same time Admiral Thaon de Revel, Minister of Marine, was made Grand Admiral. Both titles were conferred for the first time in Italy.

A serious clash took place in the Piazza del Popolo, Rome, on Nov. 4, between Fascisti and members of the *Italia Libera*, an organization of dissident Fascisti. The central committee of

the *Italia Libera* and General Peppino Garibaldi, grandson of the great patriot, issued manifestoes protesting against what they termed the unwarranted attack by the Fascisti upon unarmed ex-soldiers and accusing Mussolini of being personally responsible. Both manifestoes were stopped by the Italian censor when the foreign newspaper correspondents in Rome attempted to telegraph them abroad. In consequence the messages were taken to the Swiss frontier and wired from there. An official communiqué sought to minimize the seriousness of the disorders by stating that eleven persons were injured in the disturbance in the Piazza del Popolo and that the disturbances at Turin, Naples, Trent and various other cities were "insignificant incidents without any consequence."

Regarding the agitation against the press censorship, Mussolini on Oct. 12 made the following remarks to an interviewer:

I can state without any fear of contradiction that if any paper in America printed even only a small part of what some Opposition papers are printing in Italy, it would have been bankrupt long ago by libel actions brought against it. I am an old newspaper man myself and I know. I admit, however, that the decree on the press has not worked well in practice, because by taking the control of the press out of the hands of the Magistrates and placing it in the hands of the political authorities it gave the Government the appearance of persecuting the Opposition press, even when its intervention was more than justified. Parliament, however, as soon as it reassembles will discuss more permanent and juridical measures for controlling the press.

The local "ras" or Fascist chief continued to be the subject of attack. Conditions were reported to be very bad at Piacenza where a dissident Fascist was murdered in obscure circumstances, and at Verona, where the situation had been disturbed for some time. The most serious situation arose at Molinella near Bologna. The town was the centre of one of the most successful cooperative enterprises in Italy. It became a prey to Communist agitation and after the advent of Fascism many of the Com-

munist chiefs went over to the new group. Fascist raids destroyed most of the property of the cooperative societies and were responsible for many acts of violence. In August, 1923, Regazzi, the local "ras," led a raid against a peasant, Mariani, in the course of which Mariani was killed, it was said, by Regazzi himself. For a year there was a warrant out for Regazzi's arrest, but he was allowed to go openly about his business, being seen often in the company of the Chief of Police at the very time when the police reported that he could not be found. Meantime acts of violence instigated and directed by Regazzi continued to occur at Molinella. Finally when Oviglio, Minister of Justice, found himself at a meeting in company with Regazzi and threatened to resign unless the Minister of the Interior took action in the matter, Federzoni intervened and in the end secured Regazzi's arrest, though not until after he had been allowed temporarily to escape. Farinacci, "ras" of Cremona, and one of the foremost Fascist leaders, in an article defending Regazzi, said: "To be arrested for combating the enemies of the nation and of Fascism is an honor, and the deed cannot be judged as an ordinary crime but must be viewed from the superior criteria of reasons of state." Evidently Mussolini's difficulties with the extremists of his own party were still great.

The Committee of Fifteen, made up of five Senators, five Deputies and five technical experts, began its sessions for the purpose of revising the Constitution. The President was the philosopher Gentile, former Minister of Public Instruction. The conservative nature of the appointments to the committee to some extent allayed the anxiety created by its formation.

The considerable increase in the cost of living was the subject of recent meetings of the Council of Ministers. The increase was due partly to the poor harvest, which made it necessary to import larger quantities of cereals than usual. A central commission was created to prevent speculation in food and to regu-

late the supplies. The greater cost of living led to some agitation for increased pay, notably among Government employees.

General De Bono, Commander in Chief of the Fascist militia, and, until after the Matteotti murder also Chief of Police, resigned that office and was appointed Governor of Somaliland. The resignation was thought to be a further concession to those who attacked the General for his failure to pursue the Matteotti murderers. In his letter of resignation General De Bono said: "I leave you 150 legions ready to march at your slightest gesture for the safety and greatness of Italy."

The trial of Matteotti's murderers was postponed at least until January. Some comment was caused by the fact that the Fascist Naldi was released, but the act was defended on the ground that there was no evidence of his complicity in the plot. He gave shelter to Philip-pelli after the crime.

A punitive bombing expedition against rebel forces of the Senussi Arabs in Cyrenaica was carried out by Italian airmen on Oct. 18. Two Arab villages were bombed for half an hour and opposed the Italian airmen with sustained fire.

Papal titles conferred since 1870, the validity of which was questioned by the Italian Government, were by a recent decision of the Council of Ministers given equal rank with titles conferred by the Italian Government. The decision removed a serious source of friction between the Government and the Vatican. A letter accompanying the decree sent to the King for his signature stated that the action was "dutiful homage paid to the Pope in all Catholic countries irrespective of Government policies."

The body of Pope Leo XIII., who died in 1903 after a pontificate that lasted twenty-five years, was removed from its temporary vault in St. Peter's and taken to its final resting place in the Basilica of St. John Lateran on Oct. 27.

Eastern Europe and the Balkans

By FREDERIC A. OGG

Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin.

Bulgaria

A MAIN theme of recent debate wherever Balkan politics fell under discussion was the imminence of a Communist uprising in Bulgaria. The prediction was freely made that such a coup would be undertaken in the not distant future, and there were circumstances which gave it a degree of plausibility. Few European countries were in a more unsettled political condition. Deserted by both the Socialists and the Agrarians—the latter being the party of the former Premier Stambulsky and by far the most numerous political element—the Tsankoff Government was distinctly a minority government, whose position was continuously jeopardized by both Communist and non-Communist opposition. The Government had at its disposal only a small body of troops, of no very high order and of doubtful loyalty. The country was overrun with refugees—400,000 of them—from Macedonia, Thrace and the Dobrudja, most of them living under wretched conditions and sufficiently desperate to be strongly appealed to by the promises of agitators.

Realizing that the Communist cause was losing ground in most countries, the Moscow Government sought to profit by the Bulgarian situation, trying hard to drive a wedge between the two factions into which the Macedonian revolutionary organization had lately split. Much Soviet money was spent in the country. Soviet arms were smuggled in. On the other hand, the bona fide Bulgarian Communists were few and weak and considerably less zealous than their Russian brothers. Leading Bulgarians were quoted by the Belgian Socialist Emile Vandervelde as believing that there would be no rising in the near future, and that any attempt that might be made would fail. If the country,

with its more than 50 per cent. of intensely individualistic peasant proprietors, were in a normal condition, the danger would have been nil.

Greece

THE Constituent Assembly of Greece reopened on Oct. 15, when Mihaïlakopoulos, the new Prime Minister, made the customary declaration of policy, and his Administration received a vote of confidence by 201 votes to 92, with ten abstentions. The Premier declared his intention to expedite the revision of the Constitution and to bring about administrative decentralization. In the matter of foreign policy he said that Greece was frankly desirous of living in peace and that she would faithfully fulfill all treaties and expect similar fulfillment from other nations.

Czechoslovakia

WHEN the Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, Dr. Benès, returned to Prague, he was received with almost unprecedented acclaim, on account of the part he had taken at Geneva in connection with the Protocol of Arbitration, Security and Disarmament. In view of the fact that it was M. Benès who first drafted the protocol, it was peculiarly appropriate that Czechoslovakia should have become—as it did on Oct. 31—the first State to ratify the instrument officially.

One of the most notable social reforms adopted since the war was the recently enacted Social Insurance law of Czechoslovakia. The measure is one of the most comprehensive of its kind in the world. The Socialists supplied much of the driving force that carried the measure through the lower house of the National Assembly, but the National Democrats and the Agrarians also gave their support, so that the bill, although

differing considerably from the original Socialist project, was finally passed with the endorsement of all of the parties forming the Government coalition. Insurance is provided against sickness, invalidity, accident, old age and unemployment, and in general the principle of payment of the premiums half by the employer and half by the employee is followed. Statisticians estimated that sickness insurance would apply to 851,000 agricultural laborers and 1,742,800 workers in industries, and invalidity and old age insurance to a total of 2,503,000 persons.

Hungary

OCTOBER was a period of effervescence and storm in Hungarian politics. Debates on the Russo-Hungarian treaty signed on Sept. 16 put Premier Bethlen on the defensive, and reverberations of the sentence in the Csongrad bomb outrage and of the Government's refusal to extradite Herr Erzberger's assassin nearly disrupted the Cabinet. As it was, the Minister of Agriculture, Szabo, initiator of important land reforms, resigned, and a combination of Left and Extreme Left Parties against the Government forced the Premier to turn further to the Right for support than had been his habit. On Oct. 25, when a military dictatorship loomed as an imminent possibility, an eleventh-hour compromise between M. Bethlen and Szabo's followers temporarily saved the situation. A further unsettling factor was the threat of the Extreme Right, the "Awakening Hungarian," led by Julius Gombos, to oppose the Liberal Party with arms if it came into power. Meanwhile, on Oct. 18, Foerster, the assassin of Erzberger, was deported as an undesirable, being sent, not to Germany, but to the eastern frontier and allowed to proceed toward Turkey.

A feature of the wholesale dismissal of State employes which accompanied the efforts of the Government to stabilize its currency was the high percentage of Jews losing their positions. According to the Jewish Telegraph

Agency, of the 1,090 teachers and school inspectors discharged in Budapest alone, the majority were Jews. A strong anti-Semitic agitation, furthermore, broke out in the universities, resulting in the closing of one institution, the College of Forestry and Mine Engineering in Selm Eczbanya.

The Hungarian Social Democratic Party laid before the recent International Congress of Social Policy at Prague a lengthy memorandum which put the State of Hungary's social legislation in a very unfavorable light. It was shown that no law existed prohibiting night work, that sickness and accident insurance were on a purely private basis, that such few enactments as there were, for example, the law regulating children's work, were utterly disregarded, and that the Budapest Government had not yet ratified a single resolution of the International Labor Bureau at Geneva.

Commissioner Jeremiah Smith's fifth report on reconstruction work, covering the month of September, showed receipts that continued to mount, but indicated that a downward turn was probable and stressed the necessity of further economies.

Efforts were made to induce the United States immigration authorities to deport Countess Catherine Karolyi on her arrival in New York for a lecture tour. The wife of Count Michael Karolyi, President of a short-lived Hungarian republic of radical trend in 1918-19, she was represented as being a Bolshevik. It was, however, easy to establish the fact that she was merely a political liberal. She was accordingly admitted on Oct. 28.

Poland

ANNOUNCEMENT on Oct. 21 that the Polish Republic was seeking an American loan brought out an explanation from M. Wroblewski, Polish Minister at Washington, on the following day that it was a private rather than a State loan that was sought, although such a loan might yet be partially or wholly guaranteed by the Warsaw Gov-

ernment. An interesting proposal which was understood to have been made to New York bankers was that security be provided in the form of a blanket mortgage covering all Polish industries. It was reported that many of the republic's leading industrialists had volunteered to accept such a plan. The amount was calculated to be somewhere between twenty-five and fifty million dollars, but the French loan and German industrial financing were expected to take precedence.

Arrangements were effected in October for the building at French shipyards of a Polish fleet, consisting almost entirely of submarines.

Rumania

FOLLOWING conferences between Secretary of State Hughes and Peter A. Jay, United States Minister to Rumania, the State Department dispatched a strong note to Bucharest in October (the fact became public on Oct. 22), demanding that discriminations against American citizens having mining and oil concessions in Rumania be promptly abandoned. Mention was made also of the inability of American creditors to obtain satisfaction of their claims against Rumanian citizens on account of the lack of adequate laws in that country. Mr. Jay sailed from New York on Oct. 25 to resume his duties at the Rumanian capital.

The reassembling of Parliament on Oct. 15, after four months' recess, found the Liberal Government of M. Bratiano in an exceptionally strong position. A somewhat threatening understanding between the Peasant Party and the Transylvanians last Spring had practically evaporated, and these and other opposition factions subsequently failed to unite on any of the outstanding public issues.

A visit of Premier Bratiano to Vienna in early October was marked by exceptional mutual cordiality. Although it was denied that the visit had any political significance, observers regarded it as a possible step toward the much-discussed confederation of Danubian

States. M. Bratiano indeed admitted that his object was to "continue the work of peace and consolidation of Europe, especially of the Danubian States."

Yugoslavia

THE Davidovitch Government, which had been dependent for a majority upon the votes of Raditch's Croatian Peasant Party, resigned on Oct. 15. Repeated efforts had previously been made to induce the Croats to accept conditions that would enable them to enter the Cabinet, as King Alexander urged should be done; but all negotiations proved futile. One point of particular difficulty was Raditch's insistence upon a reduction of the army—a step which the Premier and his colleagues considered quite impossible on account of the situation existing generally throughout the Balkans. The fall of the Government was preceded by the resignation on Oct. 11 of General Hadzitch, Minister of War, who was highly esteemed both as a soldier and as a Minister. His retirement because of dissatisfaction with the policies of his chief caused a sensation. A plan was formulated for the adhesion of the Radical Party, led by ex-Premier Pashitch, thus creating a concentration Government that would be independent of Raditch and his Croats, but the scheme broke down, and the Davidovitch Government, which had been in office since July 28, resigned. Strenuous attempts on the part of the King to find a leader who could form a new Cabinet met with most discouraging lack of success. Efforts to bring the old Ministerial bloc into agreement with the Radicals failed; and the Radicals were unwilling to join hands with the Croats unless the latter would renounce their republicanism and pledge themselves to support the existing Constitution. Thus no two of the three leading groups could be brought together, and the deadlock threatened to leave the country indefinitely without a Government of any responsible sort.

Russia and the Baltic States

By ARTHUR B. DARLING

Professor of History, Yale University

MOSCOW began on the evening of Nov. 6 its three days' celebration in commemoration of the seventh anniversary of the revolution of Nov. 7 with solemn meetings and concerts, which were organized in every part of the city, numbering nearly a thousand. Work was brought to a standstill; the whole city was gayly draped in red; buildings were illuminated with thousands of electric lamps and transparencies and portraits of Lenin, Marx and Trotsky. The Moscow Soviet inaugurated the celebrations with a plenary sitting at which Lunacharsky, Commissar of Education, was the principal speaker. He acknowledged that outside Russia the Bolshevik revolution did not meet the expected response and asserted that this was due to the fact that Western workers were still under the influence of the bourgeoisie, who frightened them with the terror of the Russian revolution. "Neither we nor posterity," he said, "will ever refuse to acknowledge that the Red terror was the best page in Soviet history." Russia, he declared, was growing into a strong country, thanks to the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the frequent changes of Governments in Western countries served as a good lesson for the working class to follow Russia's example.

Grand Duke Cyril, cousin of the late Czar of Russia, was reported on Sept. 19 to have signed a proclamation declaring himself "Emperor of All the Russias" and his 7-year-old son Vladimir heir to the throne. The Dowager Empress Marie sent a message from her home in Denmark to the monarchist exiles in Paris stating her disapproval of the Grand Duke's Cyril's action, on the ground that she refused to believe that her son, Michael Alexandrovitch, was dead and therefore that it was im-

possible to name an official successor to the Czar's throne.

Outstanding among the tasks of the Soviet Government is the problem of the Jews. Some 80,000 Jewish families suffered loss of life and property from military interference. Over 400,000 Jewish families in Soviet Russia, according to Ukrainian officials, decided to leave their old commercial pursuits in the cities and settle on the land as farmers. As a result, the Soviet Government, although opposed to the Zionists, or Jewish nationalists, considered proposals to set aside lands for Jewish settlers near Ekaterinoslav and Odessa in Southern Russia, so that 3,000 Jewish families might migrate there early in 1925. Official estimates showed that to settle 3,000 families on the land would cost about \$2,250,000. The Soviet Committee accordingly accepted the aid of the American Jewish Distribution Committee, and \$100,000 was lent to Ukraine for improvement of the land.

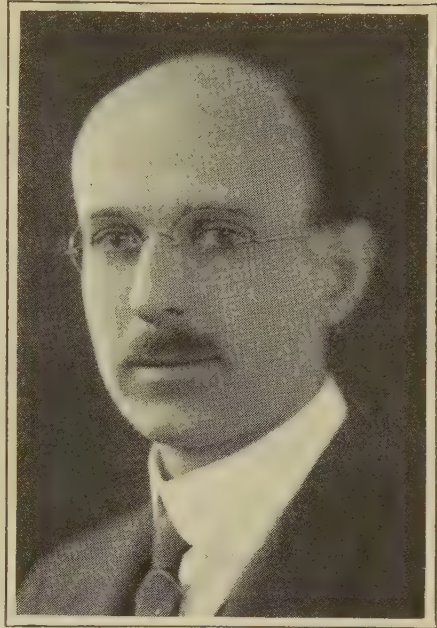
The temper of the peasants was evidenced by the fact that committees collecting the Soviet grain tax had to be accompanied by military guards, and that peasants murdered in Central Russia no fewer than forty newspaper correspondents whose reports gave the Soviet Government specific information regarding the quantity of grain in local harvests. The relations of the Soviet with the peasants were further complicated by the approach of another famine. The official report to the Central Executive Committee at Moscow stated that, because of bad weather and superannuated methods of cultivation, some 7,000,000 of the population faced starvation. For relief the Soviet Government allotted 70,000,000 gold rubles (\$35,000,000). It also appropriated 16,000,000 gold rubles to restore those sections of Leningrad destroyed by the recent flood.

In spite of famine and flood, however, Soviet Russia's economic condition seemed to be improving. Its trade with the outside world during the year greatly increased. According to statistics compiled for the period from Jan. 1 to June 1, 1923, and based upon the prices of 1913, its exports were valued at 38,184,000 gold rubles and imports at 38,988,000, a balance of 804,000 of imports in excess of exports. For the same period of 1924 exports amounted to 125,254,000 gold rubles and imports to 65,263,000, a balance of 59,991,000 in favor of exports. Russian trade with the United States was valued at 4,406,000 gold rubles for the period falling between Jan. 1 and June 1, 1923, and for the same period of 1924 at 15,635,000. Of the latter amount, 7,847,000 gold rubles represented American cotton imported by Soviet Russia. American interests obtained from the Soviet a concession in the manganese fields of the Caucasian Republic of Georgia. The Russian oil trust Azneft recently placed trial orders for American equipment amounting to \$1,000,000. It was reported that American interests would construct a pipe line from Baku on the Caspian Sea to Batoum on the Black Sea, the port of the Russian oil fields.

During August a Soviet vessel visited Wrangell Island in the Arctic Ocean north of Siberia, removed American citizens and planted the Soviet flag. The United States Government did not choose to dispute the question of title to Wrangell Island and let the matter drop when assurances were had that the American citizens left the island willingly and were not being forcibly detained.

Esthonia

A DISPATCH of Oct. 1 stated that the Esthonian Government had arrested a number of persons connected with the Communist Party and seized many secret documents dealing with Russian propaganda. A dispatch dated Nov. 6 stated that during the previous night armed bands attacked the Reval Prison



ARTHUR B. DARLING

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and attempted to release 149 Communist prisoners, whose trial was fixed to begin on Nov. 10 for conspiring with Soviet Russia to help violently to overthrow the Esthonian Government and establish a Soviet régime there which would join the Soviet Republic. After considerable shooting the band was repulsed.

Lithuania

IN Lithuania the Jewish National Council was recently dispersed by the police. Wishing to maintain their communal organization, the Jews tried to get a bill through the Lithuanian Diet which would legalize their National Council. But it was rejected by the Diet, and in its place a bill was introduced by the Christian Democratic Party to reorganize Jewish communities on a congregational basis. Such a voluntary system would deprive local Jewish communities of the right to tax their members for religious and cultural purposes.

Other Nations of Europe

By RICHARD HEATH DABNEY

Professor of History, University of Virginia

Spain

WHEN Primo de Rivera seized power on Sept. 13, 1923, he promised to lay it down again in three months, after having given Spain a political house-cleaning. The Spanish journal *El Debate* recently sought to justify him for still clinging to his position, by pointing to the apathy of the people, and especially to the situation in Morocco. Other papers stressed these same factors. In the *Paris Quotidien*, de Rivera denied that the King had lost one atom of the love and respect of the people, and asserted that the majority applauded the Directory and continually encouraged it to remain in power. Replying, in the same journal, the exiled Unamuno asked why, if this were true, it was found necessary to muzzle the press?

That Rivera was vigilantly following all subversive utterances made by his actual or potential enemies was shown by his action in ordering the arrest of the greatest lawyer in Spain, Ossorio y Gallardo, for criticizing the Government in a private letter opened by the "Black Cabinet." Moreover, on the night of Oct. 28 wholesale arrests were made of those present at a dinner given at the Palace Hotel, Madrid, in honor of Professor Pedro Saenz, who had made a courageous speech to the students of the University of Madrid attacking the dictatorship. Saenz and numerous other professors, writers, Generals and politicians were arrested and imprisoned on account of the speeches made at the dinner. Among the victims were General Serabis and General Berenguer, former Spanish High Commissioner in Morocco, who were condemned to six months' imprisonment. Long messages were sent from abroad to those taking part in the dinner, by Unamuno, Blasco

Ibáñez, Romanones and other eminent Spaniards, urging the overthrow of the dictatorship. Twenty-two Spaniards, alleged to be anti-monarchist plotters, were arrested by the French police at Pepignan, just across the Spanish border, on Nov. 7. A serious affray occurred on the same day at Barcelona between the police and a number of men who were carrying bombs and were making their way toward the military barracks. Two of the men arrested were executed on Nov. 10. Thirty-six more faced trial. Admiral Marquis de Magaz, acting head of the Directory, issued a warning that all persons concerned in subversive movements would be summarily dealt with.

It was admitted in Spain that General de Rivera, since his arrival in Morocco, had rapidly executed the task which should have been undertaken years ago, namely, the abandonment of several hundred useless military positions maintained at great cost of lives and money, and intended originally to prevent raids by Raisuli's bandits, who subsequently came to terms with Spain. Between Sept. 18 and Oct. 1 the Spanish losses in killed and wounded were between 4,000 and 5,000 men. Sheshuan and its garrison were relieved, but Sheshuan was subsequently given up, and very soon, it was stated, the occupied portion of the western Spanish zone would almost coincide with that of 1917. Thus, according to a recent pronouncement, "the entire results of seven years of strenuous warfare and vast expenditure will have been abandoned."

The Spanish novelist Vicente Blasco Ibáñez was said to have declared war on Primo de Rivera and King Alfonso. In an interview published in the *Paris Herald* he declared: "I am determined to dethrone the King of Spain, and I

will remain in exile until I shall have succeeded. I am ready to spend all my wealth to make my once great country a republic, to save it from the monarchs and hypocrites who have brought it to the point of death." Millions of copies of a booklet entitled "A Nation Under the Yoke; or Militarism in Spain" were being prepared by him for distribution through Spain and throughout the world.

The French Government recently expelled a first cousin of King Alfonso from France, namely, Prince Louis Ferdinand of Bourbon Orleans. Alfonso himself had deprived the Prince of all his rights as an Infante of Spain, "on account of bad conduct." Spanish women, to judge by recent developments, were asserting more and more vigorously their right to political and other activities previously denied them. Señora Perez, a school teacher, became the first woman Mayor in Spain on Oct. 16 by taking office at Cuatre Tondeta. Three others, for the first time in Madrid's history, took part on Oct. 22 in the deliberations of the Municipal Council.

It was recently announced that the floating debt of Spain had grown, under the Directory, from 3,456,000,000 to 4,050,000,000 pesetas.

Portugal

THE Chamber of Deputies convened on Nov. 5. José Domingos dos Santos was elected President of the Chamber and Domingos Pereira was elected Vice President. This represented a victory for the Democratic Left over the Government Party.

Pereira Darosa, director of the Lisbon Chamber of Commerce, announced that a group of industrial and commercial leaders had bought the newspaper *Seculo*; this journal, one of the most widely circulated in Portugal, would hereafter be devoted to the cause of labor and industry, Senhor Darosa stated.

Riots occurred during a twenty-four-hour strike by the workers of Guimaraens in protest against a 20 per cent.

reduction in wages because of the rise in exchange. The military suppressed the riots. All the shops of Lisbon were closed on Oct. 14 in a twenty-four-hour protest against the arrest of the director of the Chamber of Commerce. Two merchants were arrested accused of inciting resistance to the tax on bottled goods. All but forty of the Lisbon merchants withdrew their goods from sale to avoid paying the tax.

The Lisbon Government authorized Portuguese East Africa to contract a loan of about \$20,000,000 to develop railways, this progressive step being necessitated by the rapid growth of cotton culture.

Switzerland

ALTHOUGH the annual number of recruits in the Swiss Army was reduced at the close of the World War to about 20,000, the army was recently raised to the normal level of 25,000, and a campaign was launched to improve its organization and provide it with airplanes, heavy artillery, light machine guns, and so forth. This expansion was intended solely for purposes of defense.

Holland

BECAUSE Holland increased her current war budget by 1,500,000 florins, and because the Queen, in her speech at the opening of Parliament, made no mention of disarmament, much dissatisfaction was manifested by the public. "No more war" demonstrations were held in all the Dutch cities, and something like open mutiny occurred at the army manoeuvres, with the result that the Queen refused to review the troops or to distribute awards according to custom. A debate on disarmament took place recently at The Hague between Professor Van Emden, a radical Democrat, and General Snijders, former Commander-in-Chief of the army. The latter was prevented from finishing his speech by outbursts on the part of the audience. The Social Democratic Labor Party was reported to be

preparing a tentative bill for disarmament.

Public loans were being made to Dutch steamship companies to establish connections with Brazil and Argentina. Under the terms laid down, ships must be built in Holland and must make a definite number of voyages each year.

Denmark

THE disarmament bill, embodying a plan to abolish the Danish Army and Navy, was presented to Parliament by the Socialist Cabinet on Oct. 8.

The National City Bank of New York announced on Oct. 24 that the credit of \$10,000,000, advanced on Dec. 15, 1923, to the Danish Government, had been extended for one year.

A conference of representatives of the workers in the food and drink trades of Scandinavia was held in September at Copenhagen. There were present twenty-three representatives of twelve unions with about 50,000 members. The conference decided to create a Scandinavian Federation for the purpose of providing mutual aid (moral and financial) in periods of labor conflict and unemployment.

Norway

THE Norwegian Parliamentary election held on Oct. 20 resulted in the choice of 54 Conservatives, 22 Agrarians, 34 Left Radicals, 2 Labor Democrats, 8 Socialists, 24 Labor Party members and 6 Communists. As the Conservative and Agrarians together constituted a majority, it was believed that they would form a coalition Cabinet with the assembling of the Storting in January, 1925.

Norway recently celebrated the 900th anniversary of the introduction of Christianity into the country. The little church at Moster on the west coast, where the memorial service took place, was in use in 1024 when the King imposed Christianity upon Norway.

The Norske Handelsbank of Christiania suspended payments on Oct. 15

and was placed by the Ministry of Finance under public administration.

Sweden

IN the recent election (Sept. 22) the paramount question was whether more or less should be spent on the army; and, as the parties, notably the Social Democratic Party, favoring a diminution of expense for this purpose had together a strong majority in the Riksdag, the Conservative Premier, Ernst Trygger, resigned and was replaced by the Social Democratic leader, Hjalmar Branting, who selected a Cabinet consisting entirely of Social Democrats and made up as follows:

HJALMAR BRANTING—Premier.
OSTEN UDEN—Foreign Affairs.
T. NOTHIN—Justice.
P. A. HANSSON—Defense.
F. G. MOLLER—Interior.
V. LARSSON—Communications.
F. V. THORSSON—Finance.
R. J. SANDLER—Commerce.
O. OLSSON—Public Worship and Education.
S. LINDERS—Agriculture.

These were supplemented by two Ministers without portfolio, K. S. Levinson and E. J. Wigforss.

The new Government's first task was consideration of the reduction of the military budget; following the first meeting of the Cabinet it was announced that immediate steps would be taken toward a solution of this question.

A treaty between Sweden and Germany was ratified by both countries. This accord provided for arbitration, through a permanent conciliation committee, of all disputes that could not within a reasonable period be settled through the usual diplomatic channels. A codicil specified that in case Germany joined the Court of International Arbitration at The Hague, or the League of Nations, the settlement of disputes should be transferred either to the Court or the League, as the case might be.

The arrival in Stockholm of M. Dovgalevski, the new Soviet Minister to Sweden, succeeding M. Ossinski, was recently announced.

Although there was still some depres-

sion in Swedish agriculture and the iron industry; the quarterly report of the Royal Board of Trade pointed to steady economic improvement in general. Swedish Government finances were declared to be in even better shape than a year ago. New York banks, on Oct. 27, offered to the public \$30,000,000 of Swedish Government thirty-year 5½ per cent. gold bonds, the proceeds to be used for meeting recent Government expenditures for posts, telegraphs, telephones, railroads, hydroelectric developments and loans in aid of agriculture. The similar loan raised in the United States in 1919 totaled only \$25,000,000. It was stated in New York on Nov. 11 that negotiations were under way for a credit to be extended by a group of American banks to the iron ore industry of Sweden. The International Acceptance Bank, Inc., was conducting negotiations for the creditor group, and Oscar Rydbeck those for the Swedish group. It was understood the loan would exceed \$5,000,000, and would be made on an acceptance basis, without recourse to public offering of securities. Sweden's national debt was stated to be about \$467,000,000, or approximately \$78 per capita, a smaller debt per capita than that of any other nation in the world. O. Rydbeck, head of the banking concern, Skandinaviska Kreditaktiebolaget, recently calculated that the income from the Swedish State railways and other State enterprises was considerably larger than the interest on the entire national debt.

A notable increase of trade between Sweden and the United States during the period of 1913-23 was shown in a statistical analysis made by Skandinaviska Kreditaktiebolaget. The value of Sweden's exports to the United States, wood pulp, iron ore, and so forth, rose

273 per cent. during the period, while the value of the imports rose 179 per cent. These figures are of peculiar interest to the student of Sweden's economic development during the World War, especially after the so-called "peace crisis" following the armistice and extending through the year 1921. The export of wood pulp and iron ore, which represent Sweden's most valuable assets in international trade, was during this post-war period seriously diminished. In recent years, however, trade in these products has undergone a new development and the United States has taken a prominent place as a purchaser and consumer of these important materials.

The month under review was one of considerable accomplishment in the field of science and research. The Scania-Vabis Works in Malmö announced that experiments with charcoal gas as a motor fuel had proved successful. A method of extracting pure steel and forge iron directly from iron ore without the use of smelting furnaces was discovered by the Swedish engineer, Flodin, connected with the Hagfors Iron Works. The Nobel Prize for Medicine was awarded to William Einthoven of Leyden University, for his invention of an "electro-cardiogram" mechanism and the making of X-ray motion pictures of the action of the human heart.

A regular service of cargo airplanes between Stockholm and Helsingfors, Finland, was established. The first cargo included half a ton of medical supplies. The distance of 240 miles was covered in about three hours. The Swedish Aero Club announced its decision to bestow its highest award of honor, a gold plaque, upon Lieutenant Eric Nelson, one of the pilots on the American round-the-world flight. He was born and reared in Sweden.

Turkey and the Near East

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

Professor of History, University of Illinois

THE controversy between Great Britain and Turkey over the question of the Mosul frontier, which bore a serious aspect in October, was finally settled by the Council of the League of Nations on Oct. 29. The territory, whose occupation was disputed, lay in the mountainous country north of Amadia, outside the boundary of the former Turkish province of Mosul. An area about sixty miles from east to west and twenty from north to south had been used by the British for the resettlement of Christian Assyrian tribes. According to the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923 the Turkish and British Governments agreed not to modify "the present state of the territories" until the frontier should be laid down, either by friendly negotiation or by reference to the Council of the League of Nations. In October, 1923, however, the Turkish Governor near the region described sent word to the British authorities at Mosul that he proposed to enter the district in order to collect tribute from a Kurdish chieftain. The British replied that the territory had been under effective British occupation at the time of the signature of the Treaty of Lausanne, and that the Turkish expedition would not be admitted. Early in August of this year, however, the Governor, with a small escort, crossed the boundary at the village of Hani. He was captured and expelled by the Assyrians. The Turkish Government then ordered him to conduct a punitive expedition against the Assyrians.

Inasmuch as the country immediately north of the disputed territory was practically impassable for a considerable military force, the Governor proceeded eastward from his headquarters at Jeziret-ibn-Omar and crossed territory which not only was considered by the British to be under their occupation, but

was a part of the original province of Mosul. The advance guard of the Turks was driven back by two British airplanes, but the main body was superior to the local forces and proceeded into the territory under dispute. The British Government addressed warnings in writing to the Turkish authorities before and after the invasion. The Assyrians were panicstricken and fled by thousands from villages which they had very recently rebuilt.

Instead of assembling a considerable body of troops and expelling the Turks by force, the British Government on Sept. 30 negotiated an agreement to maintain the status quo, and to refer the dispute immediately to the Council of the League of Nations. The signature of this agreement was followed, however, by a new dispute. The British maintained that the status quo intended was that of the time of the signature of the Treaty of Lausanne, whereas the Turks insisted that it meant Sept. 30, 1924. The British Government on Oct. 9 demanded the withdrawal of the Turkish troops from the territory considered to be under British occupation. The Turks replied a few days later that they had never crossed the line of effective British military occupation, and that they had already withdrawn their main forces from the territory beyond that, after having inflicted the punishment desired. Upon this the British Government referred the question of determining what status quo had been intended to the Council of the League of Nations. The date was set at Oct. 27. The Turks, meanwhile, hastened the gathering of the Grand National Assembly at Angora and made some new local disposition of troops, without, however, ordering general mobilization. It was reported that Turkey had asked for and received a promise of support

from Russia for her claims in the Mosul region.

The League Council met at Brussels on the day appointed (Oct. 27) and reached the decision recorded elsewhere in these pages, solving the immediate problem by tracing a new temporary boundary. The larger question of the definitive boundary between Turkey and Iraq remained to be considered.

In anticipation of the meeting of the Angora Assembly, considerable criticism was directed in the Turkish press against Prime Minister Ismet Pasha, and efforts were made to organize among the Deputies an opposition capable of unseating him. Some influential persons desired the overthrow to extend as far as to President Mustapha Kemal himself. The Government was blamed for having shown insufficient energy in all internal affairs and particularly as regards the settlement of Moslem refugees and the restoration of prosperous business conditions. Serious objection was made to the President's argument in favor of a single Popular Party, as a proposal tending to lead to an unhealthy state of political affairs.

The Prime Minister issued, late in September, orders to Governors and Mayors, requiring that all houses abandoned by deported Greeks be turned over to Moslem refugees. In case these should not suffice, it was stated, public buildings might be devoted temporarily to this purpose. It was affirmed that Government officials had occupied the best of the abandoned houses, while others had been torn to pieces for the sake of the wood and hardware contained in them.

The controversy between Greece and Turkey over the question of what Greek-speaking citizens of Constantinople might be allowed to reside permanently in the Turkish capital became acute in the middle of October. It was finally settled by the Council of the League of Nations on Oct. 29, as recorded elsewhere in this magazine.

It was reported from Smyrna that un-

comfortable pressure was being put upon the Jewish population there, especially through the "Ottomanizing" of the schools. Many families had emigrated, while a large number of Jewish girls were said to have declared their conversion to Islam.

The American colleges in Constantinople began a new academic year with an attendance much larger than that of last year. Robert College had about 600 students, of whom one-fourth were Turks and one-fourth Greeks. The French schools in Turkey had conformed to the Turkish rules regarding religious symbols to such an extent that permission had been given them to reopen.

Egypt

PRIME MINISTER ZAGHLUL
PASHA returned to Egypt on Oct. 20, having apparently obtained nothing from his interviews with Prime Minister MacDonald beyond a chance to express the Egyptian position on disputed questions. The first interview of the two Premiers was held on Sept. 25 and the third and last interview on Oct. 3. The discussions did not reach the dignity of "negotiations," but were described as "conversations." Brief official statements were made after the meetings. Zaghlul Pasha, upon leaving England, gave a message to the press, in which he said:

The Egyptian Premier departs with the conviction that the day of justice for Egypt will dawn, and that the Egyptian people will obtain the success that it merits by the depths of its patriotism and the greatness of its civilization. England will understand the price of Egyptian friendship, and will be convinced that an Egypt allied and peaceful is worth more to the empire than an Egypt hostile and oppressed. To hasten the advent of that day the Egyptian Premier relies on the British people's sense of justice, and wishes to believe that the statesmen of the empire will show themselves soon to be inspired by that spirit of justice and international peace which must henceforth guide the policies of the great democracies and take the place of the conception of domination and mistrust which still envenoms the relations of the nations.

Mr. MacDonald expressed his conclusions after the "conversations" in a letter to the High Commissioner, Lord Allenby, which was given to the public on Oct. 7. He said that Zaghlul Pasha insisted on certain modifications of the status quo in Egypt. These were: (a) The withdrawal of all British forces from Egyptian territory; (b) the withdrawal of the financial and judicial advisers; (c) the disappearance of all British control over the Egyptian Government, notably in connection with foreign relations, which Zaghlul Pasha claimed were hampered by the notification of his Majesty's Government to foreign powers on March 15, 1922, that they would regard as an unfriendly act any attempt at interference in the affairs of Egypt by another power; (d) the abandonment by his Majesty's Government of their claim to protect foreigners and minorities in Egypt; (e) the abandonment by his Majesty's Government of their claim to share in any way in protecting the Suez Canal.

Mr. MacDonald's discussion amounted to the practical refusal of all these requests, as well as of the further desire that Britain should abandon the Sudan. He expressed the hope that a treaty of close alliance might solve the difficulty. He professed the intention not to interfere in any way with the functions of the Egyptian Government nor to encroach upon Egyptian sovereignty, but he felt that a British force must remain in Egypt in order to protect the communications of the British Empire. It was, he pointed out, the duty of Britain to preserve order in the Sudan, while guaranteeing to Egypt her share of the Nile water and the satisfaction of Egypt's rights.

After reaching Alexandria Zaghlul Pasha commented upon Mr. MacDonald's letter. He had proposed that the defense of the Suez Canal should be entrusted to the League of Nations. "The British answer was that Great Britain wanted a material and positive guarantee that would secure her imperial communications, and that it was impossible to rely on a piece of paper for this

purpose." Zaghlul had replied: "If treaties have no value in the hands of the strong, of what value are they in the hands of the weak?" He voiced the hope of ultimately obtaining recognition of Egypt's rights.

The Administration of the State Railways requested the appropriation during the next three years of \$17,500,000, to be expended upon renewals and repairs, which had been neglected since 1914.

Arabia

THE Wahabis under orders of Ibn Saud occupied Mecca in the middle of October and were reported early in November to be advancing upon the forces of King Ali near Jeddah. About Oct. 13 the Wahabi army obstructed the road between Mecca and Jeddah, compelling King Ali to retire toward the latter city. They refused negotiations, except for the unconditional surrender of the Holy City. Relying upon the support of Imam Yahia of Yemen and Sultan Said Idrisi of Asir, Ibn Saud demanded the abdication of all members of the Hashimite house. This triumvirate was believed to be desirous of accomplishing Arab unity in the form of a confederation, which was expected to obtain Arab independence from all foreign influence. Thousands of Meccans fled to Jeddah. King Hussein remained there until Oct. 15, when he went on board his yacht to set sail for Akaba. His departure was pitiful, since practically all his followers had deserted him after his downfall. The Moslems of Turkey and India showed no sorrow over his downfall. He was reported to have carried away family treasures valued at \$15,000,000.

At about the same time the Wahabis entered Mecca. Apparently they plundered the houses of the King and his Ministers, but respected the holy places and abstained from molesting ordinary citizens. The main body of Wahabi troops entered Mecca in an orderly fashion and rode seven times around the Kaaba. Their leader then sent word to the fleeing Meccans that they need have

no fear in returning, and that their lives and property would be protected. Order and quiet prevailed.

Ibn Saud announced that he had no intention of attacking Palestine or Mesopotamia, and that he was most anxious to have England's friendship. It was reported that he had reappointed as Sherif of Mecca in place of King Hussein the former Turkish appointee, Sherif Ali Haidar Pasha, then in Constantinople. It was also announced that Sheik Ahmed, chief of the Senussi order, was on his way to meet Ibn Saud. The principles of the Senussi have a strong resemblance to those of the Wahabis, and Sheik Ahmed had been in close touch with the Angora Government since its organization. Mr. St. John Philby, until recently British political adviser in Transjordan, was reported to have gone to Jeddah, in the hope of arranging peace between King Ali and the Wahabis.

Palestine

SIR HERBERT SAMUEL, High Commissioner, announced on Oct. 15 that a naturalization law was ready for publication. The proposed loan for reconstruction work had been deferred on account of the Parliamentary election in England. Transjordan was not to be annexed to Palestine, but new conditions in administration were to be arranged.

The Zionist organization, acting as the official Jewish agency, presented a report to the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations on Oct. 23. It was announced that Jewish groups had expended in Palestine since 1917 \$27,000,000. The Jewish population of Palestine was estimated at over 100,000. Jews possessed 187,500 acres of land in Palestine, about double the amount they held before the war. The Hebrew educational system supported 120 schools of different grades, at an annual cost of \$450,000. Jewish immigration into Palestine had increased remarkably during the last few months. Twenty-four hundred entered the country during September.

The Palestine Arab Executive issued an urgent call for a session of the Arab Congress to discuss the frequent purchases of land by the Zionists and the general political situation resulting from the struggle at Mecca. Announcement was made that Palestine would be required to pay \$20,000,000 toward the debt of the former Ottoman Empire, and Transjordan about \$2,000,000, the payments to be distributed over a period of twenty years. Funds for the repair of the beautiful "Dome of the Rock" Mosque in Jerusalem had been provided to the amount of \$375,000. One-third of this was donated in gold by King Hussein of the Hedjaz before his downfall.

Syria

THE developments in the Hedjaz reduced the tension between the French authorities and the population of Syria. When King Hussein assumed the title of Caliph last Spring the Moslems of Syria supported him enthusiastically. The French Administration attempted but was unable to suppress their declarations in his favor. Many Syrians spoke of setting up one of his sons as their King. This fitted well with their preference for the British as against the French. After the downfall of Hussein they felt that the British had deserted the Hedjaz King for a selfish reason. They were also inclined to sympathize with Turkey in regard to the Mosul question.

Persia

THE American State Department showed considerable impatience during October with the procrastination of the Persian authorities in punishing the murderers of Major Robert W. Imbrie. It appeared that the reports given to the press, according to which three Persians were executed for this crime, were inaccurate. The private soldier Morteza had indeed been shot, but the other two criminals had been spared, their sentences being commuted to life imprisonment. One of these, Seyid Hussein, was apparently the ringleader.

He led the mob to the hospital where Imbrie was under treatment for his wounds and incited them to burst into the room and beat him to death with clubs. He later boasted that he had brought about the death of two Americans.

The matter was complicated by Moslem religious prejudices. The title Seyid indicated that Hussein was supposed to be a descendant of the prophet Mohammed. Such a person was not subject to law in the same way as the ordinary citizen; no matter what his offense, it was very difficult to secure extreme punishment. It was announced that the Persian Government would send an "extraordinary envoy" to the United States to explain its action in the Imbrie case.

The recent Cabinet crisis was said to have been provoked by the Prime Minister, Riza Khan. The Opposition interpellated the Government on some financial questions. When the Prime Minister answered some bitter accusations were made. Two days later, on Aug. 21, Riza Khan called for the resignation of the entire Cabinet, except the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Dr. Millspaugh's seventh quarterly report as Administration General of Finances charged a lack of cooperation on the part of the Persian people. This report summarized the work of the Persian year 1302 and the first quarter of 1303 (April to June, 1924). It stated that during the first quarter of 1303, though revenues continued to increase, the cooperation of the Persians fell away:

Our work met with criticism and obstruction; certain fundamental projects were rejected or ignored; our contracts were violated; no active steps were taken by Persian officials to give us effective support; the budget was not passed; the Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs became more open in its illegal and wasteful practices; threats were even made in the Mejliss to reduce the credits proposed for the Ministry of Finance and necessary for the collection of revenue and control of expenditures. The delay by the Mejliss in passing the budget and approving projects for new taxes which we proposed has made impossible for at least a year the consideration of

any loan for productive public works and economic development.

The American administrator concluded that if the work of financial reform should eventually fail the responsibility would rest upon those Persians who obstructed the American efforts.

The Soviet Minister to Persia, M. Shoumitsky, was quoted recently as stating that the American financial experts "have failed in their task to balance the budget and have driven Persia to the brink of financial ruin." M. Shoumitsky said that a number of Russo-Persian trading companies had been organized during the last year and were doing good business.

An agreement was reached between the Persian Cabinet and the Junkers Aircraft Company, which proposed to extend into Persia a regular air service. This will amount to an extension of the Leningrad-Moscow-Rostov-Baku air line to Teheran. With the connection from Stockholm into Russia, it was said, it would be possible to travel from the Swedish capital to Teheran in three days. The traffic of the new line promised to be primarily with Russia. Nevertheless, the Junkers Aircraft Company was seeking cooperation with Great Britain.

Afghanistan

A rebellion broke out in September in the region of Khost. The uprising was in favor of Abdul Karim Khan, who claimed the Afghan throne as grandson of the former Ameer Sher Ali. This pretender was said to be a man of bad character, who had served several prison terms in India. At the beginning of October the Afghan regular troops succeeded in breaking up the rebellion.

Marshal Nadir Khan, the newly appointed Afghan Minister to France, issued an appeal for French aid in a program of modernization. He pointed to the presence of oil, coal and iron, and innumerable waterfalls. He was desirous that his country should embark upon the course of opening its natural resources to development by a great European power.

The Far East

By PAYSON J. TREAT

Professor of History, Stanford University

China

THE month under review was one of startling surprises in war-torn China. At its beginning Super-Tuchun Wu Pei-fu was acclaimed "the greatest power in China," and the prospect seemed fair for the success of his endeavors to unify the country by force. At the close of the month he was stripped of his high position and was a fugitive, seeking help among his former supporters in the Yangtze Valley. A new war-lord held the reins in Peking and the President's chair was vacant.

Civil war continued in three sectors. The first decision was reached around Shanghai, where Marshal Lu Yung-hsiang was meeting the onslaughts of Marshal Chi Hsieh-yuan of Kiangsu. A mutiny in the rear had weakened Lu's efforts, and he was steadily forced back by superior forces. Sungkiang, a key position, fell to the invaders on Oct. 9, and on Oct. 13 an armistice was proclaimed, and Lu and his chief supporter, General Ho Feng-lin, fled to Japan. The victory of Marshal Chi, who promptly placed his appointees in charge of the coveted districts of Shanghai and Sungkiang, was considered favorable to the designs of his superior, General Wu Pei-fu, in the north. The defeat of the Chekiang forces was accompanied by the customary pillaging and incendiarism. The Government arsenal at Kiang-nan was looted and a large part of the seaport of Woosung was burned. Cities, towns and villages within a radius of forty miles of Shanghai were looted. The sufferings of the inoffensive farmers and townfolk were lamentable. Finally, many of the disorganized Chekiang soldiery surrendered their weapons on payment of \$20 each. During those unsettled days the

foreign concessions at Shanghai were guarded by the local police and volunteers and by sailors and marines from American, British, French and other naval vessels in the river. The situation had so improved on Oct. 22 that the volunteers were demobilized and the foreign forces were being withdrawn.

At the same time the rich City of Canton, in the south, was the scene of wild excitement. On Oct. 10 a clash occurred between the troops of the Merchant Volunteer Corps and some labor troops, generally spoken of as the "Red Army." The labor forces were at first defeated, but incendiary fires promptly broke out which were ascribed to the "Reds." For a week sporadic fighting occurred, and the fires raged even longer. An estimate of \$50,000,000 damage was reported by Oct. 20. Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who left Canton on Sept. 13 to concentrate his forces at Shiuchow for an advance to the assistance of Marshal Lu, was reported to have returned to Canton about Oct. 22, but later reports stated that he had again fled from the city.

It was on the northern front, however, that the most spectacular events occurred. There General Wu Pei-fu, assisted by the "Christian General" Feng Yu-siang, was meeting the advancing columns of Super-Tuchun Chang Tso-lin of Manchuria. Savage fighting had taken place within the Great Wall, around Shanhaikwan, and to the north of Peking. Conflicting reports were issued from the rival headquarters. Tuchun Chang, early in October, came to an understanding with Soviet Russia, which relieved any fear of an attack in the rear, and on Oct. 10 he announced the establishment of an independent office of Foreign Affairs for the three eastern provinces.

Reports of the operations, in which airplanes and subterranean mines were used with great effect, indicated a more bitter struggle than customary in Chinese civil wars. Unsupported rumors had questioned the loyalty to Wu of General Feng, but the communiqués from his front had been encouraging. Suddenly all communication with Peking was cut off and soon it was learned that General Feng, with the Eighth Mixed Brigade of his Eleventh Division of "Christian soldiers," had quietly returned from the front on Oct. 23, entered Peking, demanded the immediate proclamation of peace, the abdication of President Tsao Kun, and the punishment of General Wu and others who had brought on the war with Chang Tso-lin. The next day the war was declared at an end (to which Marshal Chang agreed), Super-Tuchun Wu Pei-fu was dismissed from the command of the northern forces and appointed "Chief Commissioner for the Development of Koko-nor" (a remote district in Northeast Tibet), and President Tsao Kun resigned. The Cabinet was dismissed and a Provisional Ministry appointed on Oct. 31, with General Huang Fu as Acting Premier. General Huang Fu also temporarily filled the posts of Minister of Communications and Minister of Education. The remainder of the Provisional Cabinet comprised:

DR. C. T. WANG—Foreign Affairs and Finance.

GENERAL LI SHU-CHENG—War.

ADMIRAL TU HSI KWEI-TU—Navy.

WANG YUNG-CHIANG—Interior.

General Wu Pei-fu promptly denounced the treachery of his subordinate and tried to shift his front to advance upon Peking. On Oct. 30 the Manchurian forces occupied Shanhaikwan (at the Great Wall), Chinwangtao (a valuable seaport) and Pehtaiho. Wu, however, soon decided that it was impossible to face both Feng Yu-siang and Chang Tso-lin (who apparently were working in concert), so on Nov. 3 he embarked, with a small force, for an unknown destination, probably a Yangtze port. At Nanking, Marshal Chi Hsieh-yuan, so

recently victorious over Marshal Wu, announced on Nov. 4 that the provinces of Central China would unite in support of Wu Pei-fu. The Chinese Navy, with its base at Tsing-tao, also affirmed its allegiance, but its help was considered of scant significance.

Outstanding among subsequent events was the invasion by Provisional Government soldiers on Nov. 5 of the imperial palace at Peking; the military placed the young Manchu Emperor under close guard and forced him to sign an agreement waiving all monarchical rights; the agreement further provided that his income be cut from \$4,000,000 to \$500,000. Widespread excitement followed this coup, which some observers traced to Soviet influence.

General Wu Pei-fu sailed from Tientsin with 3,000 troops on Nov. 3; it was reported that he hoped to land his forces at Chefoo. The prospects of sharp fighting there were so immediate that Admiral Washington, commander of the United States China squadron, announced on Nov. 8 the completion of plans for marine protection of the foreign settlement and Temple Hill, the residence section of the American missionaries at Chefoo.

After a brief respite piracy on the China coast was resumed early in October, when the Chinese steamship Ning-shin was seized by pirates disguised as passengers. The steamer was taken to a pirate nest near Hongkong and looted of \$150,000 in treasure.

A new day of National Humiliation was observed on Sept. 7 in many parts of China. Interest had waned in the celebration of May 25, the date on which the Sino-Japanese treaties of 1915 were signed. The new anniversary commemorates the signing of the Boxer Protocol in 1901, which, many Chinese believe, imposed most humiliating conditions upon China.

Japan

AS the Imperial Diet was not in session, interest during the month centred upon non-political happenings. Rumors of a coalition of minority par-

ties to oppose the Kato Ministry were rife. But public attention in Japan was focused mainly on the developments in China. The Foreign Office on Oct. 14 warned both Peking and Mukden that the Japanese Government would not tolerate any damage to Japanese rights, lives and interests in Manchuria, at the same time repeating its announcement that Japan had no intention whatever of interfering in the domestic troubles of China. Japan had planned to withdraw the rest of her garrison from the South Manchuria railway zone this year. Two battalions were withdrawn in 1923, and the remaining four would have been removed had not the civil war broken out in China. Reports of disorders among some of the Chinese soldiery caused the order for the withdrawal to be indefinitely postponed. When the resistance of General Wu Pei-fu collapsed, Japan ordered some destroyers to proceed to Chinwangtao and Tientsin, and, on Oct. 25, increased her military forces by two companies of infantry. Prior to that date she had only 590 troops in North China, a force smaller than that of either Great Britain or the United States. All the foreign units were constantly employed in protecting foreign lives and property from injury at the hands of the retreating Chinese forces.

Rumors persisted that Japan had concluded a treaty with Chang Tso-lin whereby he would receive 100,000,000 yen in cash and munitions and in exchange would undertake to block the establishment of an American base of operations in China. Official denial having failed to dispel the credence given this report, Baron Shidehara, Minister of Foreign Affairs, issued a strenuous and detailed repudiation of the proposal in a statement made public Oct. 30. He characterized the report as absolutely false, and stated that it would be utterly impossible for Japan to make any large loan at the present time with the economic crisis prevalent here. He said, furthermore, that he was not aware of any plan for the establishment of a base in China by the United States.

The Russian Ambassador in Peking on Nov. 4 handed to the Japanese Minister a note containing, according to a statement issued by the Embassy, the final concessions which Moscow would make in return for recognition by Japan. The text was not made public. The most difficult point in these negotiations was that of Japanese interests in Northern Sakhalin, where an American concessionaire (the Sinclair group) already held a Soviet concession. The recent rumors of an entente between Japan, China and Russia had no basis in existing conditions in the Far East.

The plans for universal military training in secondary Japanese schools and colleges were being worked out by the Department of Education, with the cooperation of the War Department. While the announced purpose was to substitute a citizen soldiery for the conscript forces and thus reduce the period of military training and the number of youth annually enlisted, the proposal created much discussion in the local press and evoked much criticism.

Zeko Nakamura, former President of the Imperial Railway Bureau, accepted the Mayoralty of Tokio on Oct. 6. His predecessor, Mr. Nagata, had resigned after a dispute with the Municipal Assembly. A disastrous fire in Tokio on Oct. 30 destroyed 750 temporary barracks and made 5,000 persons homeless. These unfortunates had been rendered destitute by the earthquake last year.

An aftermath of the bitterness caused by the American immigration act was the resignation of Viscount Kentaro Kaneko as President of the American-Japan Society. Viscount Kaneko, Harvard '78, was one of the first Japanese students to enter an American university. Later, as an unofficial representative of Japan in this country during the Russian War, he enjoyed the friendship of President Roosevelt. For many years he had been an advocate of Japanese-American understanding, but the passage of the exclusion act led him to abandon these activities.

Public interest in the immigration issue also was revived by the news of

the election of President Coolidge; the Republican victory excited much favorable comment in the Japanese press. The newspapers, though expressing regret that the election might indicate the elimination of the exclusion law as an issue, were virtually unanimous in acclaiming President Coolidge as friendly to Japan.

Developments in shipping and coal provided the chief industrial topics of the month. Protesting at the progress made by the merchant marine of other

nations, numerous heads of Japanese shipping organizations petitioned the Government for subsidization of construction; they claimed that Japan's shipping could not otherwise be properly expanded. The civil war in China cut Japan off from one of her main sources of coal; prior to the conflict 20,000 tons a day arrived from Kaiping collieries; authorities asserted, however, that Japan's own coal supplies were adequate and that no shortage was threatened.

International Events

By ROBERT McELROY

Edwards Professor of American History, Princeton University.

THE Right Honorable Winston Spencer Churchill, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the new British Conservative Ministry, recently (in Nash's Pall Mall Magazine, London), described the League of Nations as the only hope of the future for world peace. With two mighty branches of the European family, Russia and Germany, brooding over existing conditions, he said:

The League of Nations, deserted by the United States, scorned by Soviet Russia, flouted by Italy, distrusted equally by France and Germany, raises feebly and faithfully its standards of safety and hope.

Its structure, airy and unsubstantial, framed of shining and too often visionary idealism, is in its present form incapable of guarding the world from its dangers and of protecting mankind from itself. Yet it is through the League of Nations alone, that the path to safety and salvation can be found. To sustain and aid the League of Nations is the duty of all. To reinforce it and bring it into vital and practical relation with actual world politics by sincere agreements and understandings between the great powers, between the leading races, should be the first aim of all who wish to spare their children torments and disasters compared to which those we have suffered are but a pale preliminary.

A very different estimate was presented by The London Times in its issue of Sept. 25, which pronounced the London Conference a success "beyond all expectation," and referred eulogistically to the Dawes scheme "now happily in process of execution," but failed to see so much hope from the League's attempt to give security to France. "The whole thing began at Checquers some months ago," it declared. "It was then, in conversation between MacDonald and Herriot, that the question of security, which so deeply moves French opinion, was referred to the League of Nations. On this condition it was carefully excluded from the debates of the London Conference." The article then voiced the fear that "the League's scheme . . . may cause fresh difficulties with the dominions and may provoke unnecessary antagonism in America." The article also freely expressed the belief that the United States would refuse to take part in its proposed disarmament conference, in view of the difficulties in the way of America joining in any such enterprise under the auspices of the League and of the fact that President Coolidge had already offered to call such a conference.

The writer's general position was made clear in the words: "Let us rest for a little while on the excellent Dawes scheme. There is still time to consider earnestly and practically the limited and definite problem of security in Western Europe."

THE DAWES PLAN IN ACTION

Pending the development of the policy of the new Baldwin Ministry, the Dawes scheme steadily forged ahead on its work for the restoration of normal conditions in Europe. On Oct. 13, nine months after the first meeting of the Dawes Expert Committee, all conditions attached to that plan were formally declared complete. On that date Owen D. Young handed over the bankers' contracts to raise the 800,000,000 gold marks necessary to enable Germany to establish means of paying for deliveries in kind and to sustain her currency. That act concluded the long list of conditions attached by the experts to the application of the plan. It was probably the largest single money transfer ever contained on a single sheet of paper.

The machinery built by the experts began to work forthwith. Seymour Parker Gilbert Jr., Agent General for Reparation Payments, and Joseph Edmund Sterrett, American member of the Transfer Committee, were on Oct. 28 formally presented to the commission by Owen D. Young, the retiring Agent General; and immediately thereafter an official notification was issued stating that the allied economic machinery had been withdrawn from the Ruhr. The Dawes organization thus superseded the Reparation Commission in direct control of reparations, with the bulk of responsibility falling upon Mr. Gilbert, the American Agent General, and the Transfer Committee.

When Mr. Gilbert, who was formerly Assistant Secretary of the United States Treasury, assumed official charge of his post on Oct. 31, he had at his disposal to meet reparation payments the equivalent of approximately 940,000,000 gold marks. This sum included 140,000,000

gold marks paid in by the German Government from revenues and the 800,000,000 gold marks of credit transferred by Mr. Young, as part of the new note issue based on the foreign loan of \$200,000,000. In addition to his other duties, Mr. Gilbert became trustee for the loan itself.

It was announced on Oct. 25 that Colonel James A. Logan Jr. would be the official American representative at the conference of delegates from the Finance Ministries of the allied countries called to work out a scheme of distribution of payments under the Dawes plan, and of the cash collected by the French and the Belgians in taxation and by the sale of coal and coke during the occupation of the Ruhr. Their task included working out the total amount of the costs and receipts from the Ruhr occupation, and then agreement upon the question of the distribution of receipts and costs. They were also to reach an agreement upon the question of the distribution of the first annuity under the Dawes plan, an amount totaling 1,000,000,000 gold marks. The experts began work at once, but it was decided that the Finance Ministers themselves and the American representative, Colonel Logan, would not meet to make their final decisions until after the British and American elections.

The only reparation claim of the United States against Germany in association with the allied powers totaled \$255,000,000, representing the expenses of the American Army of Occupation. Of this sum, \$10,000,000 had been already paid. The balance now became the subject of interallied negotiations to settle the priority claims of the United States in relation to similar claims made by Great Britain, France and Belgium.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE ACTIVITIES

Many international activities of the past four weeks served to emphasize the world-wide interest in the creation of the international will to peace, each designed, according to the methods thought

effective by its promoters, to prevent further wars.

The Fourth Annual International Democratic Congress for Peace was convened at Westminster on Sept. 17, with delegations representing ten nations, to discuss the problem: "Peace and International Collaboration." Norman Angell presided, and a message from the Pope was read conferring "full blessing to all those who work for the realization of the program of the Peace of Christ by the Reign of Christ."

Sir George Paish presided at a later meeting, and a message from the Archbishop of Canterbury was read, declaring: "As followers of Jesus Christ it is our duty and privilege at this time to use every opportunity of effort on wise and well-considered lines for the promotion of international peace. At no moment in the world's history has the need been greater or more urgently solemn than it is today, and I desire to assure your gathering that we are remembering it in our prayers."

Before the end of the conference, it was voted to send to the Prime Ministers of Great Britain, France and Germany the following identical telegram:

The Fourth Annual International Democratic Congress for Peace wishes to express to you, as Prime Minister, its great joy at the success obtained by the London Conference, which has commenced to deliver Europe from the darkness of the war and of after the war, and has directed us toward the light of peace.

In summing up the chief conclusions of the conference, the chairman declared that there was "only one way to solve the world's problems and that is by a change of mentality."

The Fifth Annual Congress of the Interallied Federation of ex-Fighting Men convened in London toward the middle of September and heard their purposes defined for them by various speakers of eminence. One of these declared that they were organized "to see that never again should the world be subjected to such a horror of devastation as was caused by the last war."

M. Charles Bertrand, President of the Federation, warned his hearers that, though military war was over, economic

warfare was only just beginning. He declared this to be the business of the men of the world and he looked to them for assistance in the work of securing peace and security for all nations. "The ex-soldiers have set the example of vigor and solidarity which should be followed in the domain of industry and commerce," he said, amid enthusiastic applause.

The following resolution, proposed by the British Legion and supported by the American delegation, was carried unanimously:

This congress, while appreciating the work which the League of Nations has already accomplished in the cause of peace, points out to the respective governments how great is the continued loss of power and prestige sustained by the League, due to the abstention of the United States of America. The congress urges all the members of the League of Nations to endeavor to meet the objections hitherto directed toward the League by the United States.

The International Law Association on Sept. 17 concluded its thirty-third conference, at Stockholm, Sweden. There were seventeen nations represented. The discussions centred about such questions as "Nationality and Nationalization," "Territorial Waters," "The Effect of an International Marriage upon the Woman Concerned," "The Law of the Air," and so forth.

The idea of an International Criminal Court was also discussed and declared essential and urgent. Dr. Bellot was requested to draw up a statute for such a court, but when it was submitted to the conference, opposition came from several influential sources, especially from British and American delegates, who were unwilling that their nationals should be subjected to any but their own national tribunals. The proposal was therefore referred to a committee for further consideration. Though there were many differences upon specific methods, the will for permanent peace among nations was the keynote maintained by the conference throughout.

Of different methods, though with identical aim, were the International Anti-War Day demonstrations of Sept.

21. Mass assemblies, gigantic anti-war processions, torchlights, banners and bands of music were the common features of the celebrations in many lands. In London, Manchester and over a hundred other English towns, mass meetings convened and passed resolutions condemning war. In Paris there took place a great demonstration which ended in a mass meeting in the Trocadero. In Brussels over 20,000 persons marched in an anti-war parade, bearing banners with inscriptions such as these: "The proletariat of all lands are expressing on this day their hatred of war"; "Where are the promises of peace made to the people during the Great War?" "Workers of all lands, unite!" Orators vied with one another in rhetorical denunciation of war, and exhortations to refuse to fight for financial and capitalistic interests.

In five Berlin districts mass meetings were held, the speakers including men conspicuous during the World War. At Vienna, Madrid, Rome and the other chief cities of Europe, similar demonstrations were held. In all these places the red flag was much in evidence, and there was much singing of the "International" and the "Song of the Workers." Though many violent speeches were made, in the main the theme discussed was international peace.

The Universal Postal Union, the fiftieth anniversary of which was observed in the Summer of 1924 in Stockholm, though not distinctly a peace organization, had admittedly done much to aid in the creation of the necessary background for world-wide peace. Formed in 1874, it was the pioneer of international unions, and its foundations were so firmly laid that even the World War was unable to shake them. Before the Universal Postal Union came into existence, it had cost 18 cents to carry a one-ounce letter from Canada to Great Britain and \$2.50 to send a similar letter from the United States to New Zealand. The Congress, early in its existence, fixed 5 cents as the universal maximum for sending a one-ounce letter, and this was maintained until 1921, when, be-

cause of the disturbance of monetary values in Europe, it had to be abandoned. Among the topics especially considered at the Stockholm conference was depreciated currency, the aim being to find some way to maintain a universal maximum postal rate, despite possible wars or financial crises. The Congress also decided to recognize Canada as a politically independent country, and to reduce the transit carriage charges on letters passing through various nations. It was believed that such reforms, once in operation, would tend powerfully toward peace by facilitating the ordinary letter communications of country with country and thus leading to development of better understanding between the peoples of various nations.

A step in the same direction was taken by the Social Policy Congress held in Prague, Czechoslovakia, from Oct. 2 to Oct. 4. The congress was attended by 1,100 delegates representing twenty-eight countries, and therefore afforded opportunity for discussion of social problems on an exceptionally wide international scale. The spirit of the meeting was excellent and the level of discussion high. The principal resolutions adopted called for ratification by all nations of the provision of the Washington Convention for an eight-hour working day, the establishment in all countries of a system of "workers' councils," designed to further the interests of laborers and to promote cooperation between employers and employes in regard to questions of social policy, and the enactment in the various countries of further measures against unemployment, especially in the form of insurance laws. Mr. Albert Thomas, Director of the International Labor Bureau, at Geneva, served as President of the Congress.

THE RUSSIAN PROBLEM

The Russian problem continued to loom large in European politics during the month under review. The violent dispute in Great Britain caused by opposition to the treaty with Russia was embittered by the publication of a protest sent to Moscow by the MacDonald

Government against a document recently discovered allegedly emanating from M. Zinoviev, one of the leading figures of the Moscow Soviet, and purporting to be an incitement to subversive activities in Great Britain. The British protest, which was both emphatic and explicit, elicited a sharp rejoinder from the Soviet Government declaring the document to be a forgery. Zinoviev himself, though in somewhat vague terms, repudiated its authenticity. Meanwhile the Soviet won an undeniable diplomatic victory by the recognition of its rule by France, announced on Oct. 28.

Representatives of Soviet Russia and Hungary on Sept. 16 met at Berlin and signed a treaty to resume diplomatic and economic relations. Intimations of a secret protocol had alarmed Eastern Europe. Polish journals saw the hand of Germany in the agreement. The Rumanian press voiced fears that Hungary had undertaken, in case of war between Rumania and Russia over Bessarabia, to support revolt among Hungarian subjects of Rumania and to close the lines of transportation between Rumania and France. Rumanian papers reported recent Soviet raids along the Bessarabian border and declared that Russian troops were being mobilized in the Kiev and Odessa districts. Bulgarian papers charged that the Soviet Government was responsible for the murder of the Macedonian leader, Todor Alexandrof, because he failed to keep his promise and start a revolution in the Balkans to establish a Soviet régime. Rakovsky, Russian representative in Great Britain, denounced the charges as absurd and declared that the Tsankoff Government in Bulgaria itself was responsible for deluging the Balkans in blood. Despite these denials, the announcement of the treaty with Hungary and news that the Soviet Government had established a Balkan bureau at Vienna, gave new ground for the suspicions of the Eastern European countries.

Negotiations for recognition of Soviet Russia and evacuation of the island of Sakhalin by Japan appeared to have

been hampered by Japanese desires for concessions in the oil fields of the northern part of the island. Karakhan, Soviet envoy, had conceded that Japan might use 40 per cent. of the oil-bearing lands. Japan, however, insisted upon receiving eight wells of its own choice, which, before military occupation, were almost the only ones producing oil. The Russian envoy was fearful that Japan would delay so long over the matter of recognition that Winter would come on and prevent the military evacuation of Sakhalin.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The aftermath of the recent fifth annual assembly of the League of Nations and its protocol for the pacific settlement of international disputes, accepted by forty-seven nations at the closing session of Oct. 2, justified the contention that the League had become the most powerful of international institutions working for peace. Czechoslovakia signed the protocol on Oct. 31, Brazil and Chile on Oct. 17, Paraguay on Nov. 4. These, added to the signatures given at the time the protocol was accepted, brought the total number of signatories up to thirteen of the forty-seven accepting States. The future of the protocol was by no means assured, and the Geneva dispatch which announced Czechoslovakia's ratification on Oct. 31 contained the words: "In League circles there seems to be apprehension that Great Britain, under a Conservative Government, would not approve the protocol without amendment, and that this would entail the reconsideration of the document at the next regular assembly of the League, or its re-examination at a special assembly. In that case," the dispatch continued, "it would mean the postponement of the Arms Conference scheduled for June, 1925."

Nevertheless, the League was proceeding with the organization of the projected Arms Conference, and a copy of the protocol had been sent to the United States and other nations not

members of the League, with the statement that it was open for the signatures of all nations, whether League members or not. This was regarded as the first move toward inviting America to participate in the conference on the reduction of land armaments, first planned by the United States and adopted by the League of Nations Assembly at its fifth session.

In England there had been so much comment regarding promises made at Geneva with reference to the British fleet that Mr. Henderson, the British Home Secretary, on Oct. 12, issued the following statement of explanation:

Let it be made clear that what the signatory States stand committed to with regard to the use of their armed might, is not what many ill-informed critics of the protocol think. The British Navy is not to be handed over to the disposition of the League of Nations Council, it is not to be hawked about the world, it is not to be sent on wild goose expeditions against the legendary sea coast of Bohemia.

It is, with the armed forces of other signatory States, to be used in the degree and to the extent that our own Government and competent authorities decide to be necessary. We retain control, but we are solemnly pledged that our forces shall be used to make the decisions effective if sanity, reason, right and justice fail, and these sanctions have to be employed.

The Japanese amendment carried ultimately by the Assembly after precipitating a crisis which threatened to disrupt the sessions, and which referred to questions admittedly domestic in character, such as the exclusion of immigrants, caused an unfavorable reaction in the United States; with the result that a statement was issued on Oct. 13, through the Japanese Embassy at Paris, declaring: "The wild talk about Japan's objective in this instance being the United States of America, or certain British Dominions, is purely imaginary and entirely foreign to the true motive of the delegation, with which it was purely a question of a judicial nature, a question of principle, with the loyal intention of keeping the Covenant free from potent inconsistency and illogicalness."

Miss Sarah Wambaugh, however, former expert adviser to the Secretariat of the League of Nations, and recently returned from Germany, interpreted the matter differently. "Japan wanted the right to force arbitration and an arbitral award, even in the case of a domestic question," she said, in an interview on Oct. 15, "What she got was merely the affirmation of the right of the Council to discuss such a question if it threatens peace, but the Council cannot give even a recommendation, much less a decision."

INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS SETTLED

The last few weeks recorded to the credit of the League as a peacemaker two very definite successes, one the Iraq dispute between Great Britain and Turkey, the other the controversy between Greece and Turkey over the question of the transfer of populations. On Oct. 13, Ismet Pasha, Turkish Premier and Foreign Minister, telegraphed to the League of Nations that if the British troops committed acts of aggression on the frontier between Turkey and Iraq (Mesopotamia), Great Britain would have to bear the entire responsibility. The British contended that the Turks had invaded British mandated territory in Iraq, but considered it idle to talk of frontiers when the question had been already referred by both sides to the Council of the League of Nations in accordance with the treaty of Lausanne.

Officials of the League announced on Oct. 20 that a special meeting of the League Council would be held at Brussels to settle the differences over the Iraq boundary. The Council convened on Oct. 27 and Lord Parmoor of Great Britain and Fethi-Bey of Turkey appeared before it to plead the cases of their respective Governments. A special dispatch from Brussels, dated Oct. 29, declared: "The Iraq boundary dispute * * * was settled this afternoon to the satisfaction of both parties when the League of Nations Council adopted the provisional frontier drawn up by Hjalmar Branting of Sweden. Both nations were pledged by their representa-

tives in advance to accept the decision of the Council."

The settlement of the conflict between Turkey and Greece over the exchange of populations, effected at the same session of Oct. 29, also gave great satisfaction to the members of the Council. Grave difficulty arose late in October over the enforcement of a convention annexed to the Treaty of Lausanne, under which Greeks living in Turkey were to be sent back to Greece and Turks living in Greece to be repatriated to Turkey. On Oct. 10 warning was given to Greek residents subject to exchange and having passports that they must leave the country within seven days; those having no passports were ordered to procure the documents and depart within ten days thereafter.

Consternation therefore arose when, a week later, the police rounded up more than 2,000 Greek residents in a concentration camp at Yedikule, preparatory to forcible deportation. People were arrested in their shops, in their homes and even in the open street and marched off in convoys under armed escort. The Turkish defense was that the persons so treated were not domiciled in the city in 1918 in the full legal sense.

Appeals to the Mixed Commission, whose authority had been flouted,

brought no promise of a settlement, and the matter was carried by M. Politis, Greek Foreign Minister, to the Council of the League of Nations, which was meeting, opportunely enough, at Brussels, beginning Oct. 26, for the consideration of the controversy over Iraq. At the outset the Turkish representative, Fethi Bey, could only say that the affair had not been considered by the Angora Government and that therefore he had no mandate to discuss it. But the necessary authority was soon obtained, and before the close of the five days' session the Council had the satisfaction of liquidating not only the Iraq dispute but also the Greco-Turkish crisis.

The plan unanimously adopted was prepared by Viscount Ishii of Japan and involved, chiefly, instruction to the Mixed Commission to meet immediately and adjust all outstanding questions arising out of the arrests.

Less favorable, from the League's standpoint, was the result of the sessions of the International Opium Conference, which assembled at Geneva on Nov. 3. Owing chiefly to the heavy production of opium in China and its illegal transportation to other countries, the conference reported that its task of curbing the trade in narcotics seemed discouragingly difficult.

DEATHS OF PERSONS OF PROMINENCE

EDGAR LUCIEN LARKIN, eminent astronomer and director of the Mount Lowe Observatory, at Uplands, Cal., Oct. 11, aged 77.

HERMAN H. KOHLSAAT, publisher, author and intimate of five American Presidents, at Washington, D. C., Oct. 17, aged 71.

ADMIRAL SIR PERCY SCOTT, British naval expert, at London, Oct. 18, aged 71.

GENERAL BARON VON FREYTAC-LORINGHOFEN, leading German military authority, at Weimar, Oct. 19.

LOUIS EMILE BERTIN, leading French naval architect and creator of the first modern Japanese fleet, at Cherbourg, Oct. 24, aged 84.

LAURA JEAN LIBBEY, author of many romances which enjoyed wide popularity, at Brooklyn, N. Y., Oct. 25, aged 62.

WILLIAM SARTAIN, American landscape artist, at New York, N. Y., Oct. 25, aged 81.

MME. DE WITT SCHLUMBERGER, feminist leader and President of the French Woman Suffrage Union, at Caen, France, Oct. 25, aged 71.

HENRY C. WALLACE, American Secretary of Agriculture, at Washington, D. C., Oct. 25, aged 58.

GENERAL LUIGI PELLOUX, Premier of Italy in 1897, at Rome, Oct. 26, aged 94.

GENERAL WILLIAM HALDEMAN, Commander-in-Chief of the United Confederate Veterans, at Churchill Downs, Ky., Oct. 27, aged 78.

FRANCES HODGSON BURNETT, American novelist, at Plandome, N. Y., Oct. 29, aged 75. "Little Lord Fauntleroy," published in 1886, is universally considered her most famous work.

GABRIEL FAURE, French composer and author of numerous operas, at Paris, Nov. 4, aged 71.